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REPORT  
OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON THE "COMMUNIST RECORD"

To  
The Fund  
For The Republic

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October 1953

Report of the  
COMMITTEE on the "COMMUNIST RECORD"  
to the  
BOARD of DIRECTORS  
of the  
FUND for the REPUBLIC

"The truth about communism is, today, an indispensable requirement if the true values of our democratic system are to be properly assessed. Ignorance of communism, fascism, or any other police-state philosophy is far more dangerous than ignorance of the most virulent disease."

Dwight D. Eisenhower, on his  
Inauguration as President of  
Columbia University,  
October 12, 1948\*

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\* New York Times, October 13, 1948, p. 21,  
col. 1 at col. 7-8.

100-391697-29

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Report of COMMITTEE on the COMMUNIST RECORD

to the

BOARD of DIRECTORS

of the

FUND for the REPUBLIC

I. The Mission assigned to the Committee. Its  
Organization and Membership.

On June 4, 1953, Mr. Elmo Roper of your Board, at an interview in Boston, asked Arthur E. Sutherland to organize a small committee to make a three months' preliminary study of the various public records concerning the Communist Party and communism generally in the United States. The objective of the study was to determine the nature and extent of these records, to appraise their usefulness as a source of information about communism, and to make recommendations for further study. The Committee was organized; a small staff was assembled; and the study began on July 6, 1953. This report is submitted in completion of the Committee's original task. Its opinions and recommendations expressed herein are unanimous.

In undertaking and carrying out its mission, this Committee and all of its staff have been continually conscious of the atmosphere of urgency and controversy

which surrounds the subject of communism in the United States. Each of us, in an effort to perform during these three months some small part of a needed service to the country, has been aware of the necessity of detachment and calm in making our appraisal. Unprejudiced, unexcited and unhurried judgment is the best contribution we can make to the consideration of the trouble that now menaces the United States.

#### Membership of the Committee

Charles Fairman, Nagel Professor of Constitutional Law at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. Mr. Fairman is the author of books on constitutional law, of judicial biography, and other legal writings. He served as consultant for the Hoover Commission in 1948. For the past few years he has been Professor of Law at Stanford University.

Clinton Rossiter, Associate Professor of Government at Cornell University. Mr. Rossiter is the author of "Constitutional Dictatorship," 1948; "The Seedtime of the Republic," 1953; "The Supreme Court and the Commander-in-Chief," 1951.

Rev. Joseph M. Snee, S.J., of Georgetown University, trained as a lawyer, who has taught in secondary schools before studying law. Father Snee did graduate study in law at Harvard 1952-1953 and will teach law at Georgetown after the first of the year.

Arthur E. Sutherland, Professor of Law at Harvard University since 1950. He practiced law for fifteen years in western New York and joined the Law Faculty at Cornell on his release from active duty with the Army in 1945.

## II. The Method of conducting the three months' survey

### A. Definition of the "Communist Record"

Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 there have been conducted by various State governments, and by the government of the United States, a great number of public proceedings -- court prosecutions, legislative hearings, executive transactions of various sorts -- concerning Communists and communism. Records of these proceedings have, in most cases, been carefully preserved. In many instances the information contained in them has been to some extent authenticated by the effect of the adversary process, each side bringing out weaknesses in the other's contentions. Such records contain a vast amount of information about Communists in the United States, and their organization and doctrines. This mass of material is described, in this report, as "the Communist Record," or "Record" for short.

### B. Study of the Record

Two kinds of research were necessary if the survey was to accomplish the mission set for it. First, it was necessary to find and tabulate in a card index the judicial material in the Record. This required a hunt for judicial opinions and transcripts of testimony and exhibits

in litigation concerning communism. Second, it required a similar search and cataloguing of legislative hearings and reports, both state and federal, as well as state and federal administrative proceedings. To complete this cataloguing process was impossible during the relatively short period of the survey; indeed it can never be entirely complete as long as public proceedings continue, and additions to the Record accrue. However, all major areas in which a public record exists have been at least partially explored, and much experience in the methods of study and cataloguing has been accumulated.

To appraise the value and significance of conclusions in the Record (such as court judgments or committee reports), it is necessary to read and digest the testimony and documents in the proceedings. During the three months' survey only a small sampling could be made. Even this was a time-consuming task, inasmuch as a transcript of testimony often runs to several thousands of pages. The documents and testimony in the Dennis case, in which the eleven leaders of the Communist Party of America were convicted, occupy nearly 16,000 pages, and an understanding of the matter requires an examination of more than two-thirds of this mass (excluding that concerning selection of the jury). A description of selected records which were read and analyzed is contained in Annex B of this report.

This portion of the work was performed by Mr. Charles Corker, formerly a member of the faculty of law of Stanford University, assisted from time to time by Mr. John Sexton and Miss Louise Florencourt, young lawyers who are recent graduates of the Harvard Law School.

### C. Bibliography

There is no use doing over a job already well done. If the Communist Record has already been adequately evaluated, the Fund for the Republic would not be justified in spending the time and money required to make this new study. Hence a wise first step seemed to be an examination of writings on communism in the United States. Such a study shows what has already been done by others, turns up unexpected items in the Record, suggests new aspects of the Record to which attention should be paid, and helps appraise the information which the Record yields in relation to all other sources of information about communism in the United States. Such a bibliography is of substantial value to any study which may be undertaken either by the Fund for the Republic or by others. The compilation of a bibliography on communism in card-index form was started under the supervision of the Committee in July, 1953. This work, which is described in Annex C, was undertaken by Mr. and Mrs.

R. L. Brenneman, two recent graduates of the Harvard Law School. As is true of the Record, the bibliography will never be entirely completed until printed discussions of communism cease to appear. It can, however, be brought up to date.

#### D. Consultation by the Committee

During the preliminary survey, progress reports were circulated among the Committee members and criticism and suggestions were obtained. Father Snee twice came to Cambridge for consultation. Through Father Snee it was arranged to have Rev. William A. Nolan, S.J., of St. Louis University, come to Cambridge and spend August 27 and 28 in discussion of the project. Father Nolan, author of a 1951 book entitled "Communism Versus the Negro," has made an extensive study of American communism. The Committee and staff learned much from him.

On September 4 a preliminary draft of this report was mailed to the members of the Committee. On September 19 and 20 the Committee met in Cambridge to consider the report and its recommendations. This report is now submitted to the Directors of the Fund for the Republic after circulation among and final approval by the Committee.

### III. Recommendations Summarized

The recommendations of the Committee cover two types of projects: (a) those which can be completed in the relatively near future; and (b) a comprehensive survey and history of American communism, which would take perhaps three years to complete and would cost, at an estimate, somewhat more than \$200,000. These recommendations are stated more fully in Annex A.

#### A. Short range projects

##### 1. Digest of the official record

The Committee was of the opinion that the work of producing the compilation and digest of public proceedings concerning communism in the United States should be completed and arranged on multilith or similar cards, reproduced in reasonable numbers. Sets of these cards should be placed by the Fund in various depository libraries, especially university libraries, throughout the United States so as to be available to persons wishing to make further study and appraisal of the Record. This digest would be a valuable research device for anyone doing any writing or research on the subject of communism. It would be prepared on cards so that it could be brought down to date from time to time. The cards could well refer to the Fund for the Republic as sponsor. This compilation might serve as the basis



for the preparation of a source book of legal materials on communism, if its production now or at a later time seems desirable. See Annex.A.

2. Microfilm library of materials in the official record which are not generally available

An index to materials is of little value if much of the material indexed is unavailable. Many of the transcripts of trials and other proceedings which constitute the Record can be found only in the files or other official repositories where the proceeding took place. The Fund for the Republic, if it undertook the preparation of a microfilm library of such documents as are important and not generally available, would be performing a service of value to interested persons generally, as well as taking a necessary first step in making possible the preparation of the comprehensive history of communism which is recommended later in this report. The Committee recommends that the Fund sponsor the assembly of such a microfilm library, and make it available as widely as possible to interested scholars and institutions. This should be done through some library or other institution which would undertake to make copies of any portion available at cost to interested scholars or institutions. Some appropriate notation of the Fund for the Republic as sponsor could well be arranged for. See Annex A.

### 3. Completion of bibliography

At present the bibliography is represented by approximately 6,000 cards, each representing a book, pamphlet, magazine article, or public document on communism in the United States. In finished form each item will be accompanied by a brief descriptive comment. Some further work remains to be done in compiling items in the bibliography, and considerably more work must yet be done in examining the material and adding descriptive comments.

It is the recommendation of the Committee that the bibliography be completed. The plan which the Committee has in mind is to produce a reasonable number of copies of this bibliography on cards which are organized topically under multiple cross index subject headings. It should be made available, under the sponsorship of the Fund for the Republic, to appropriate libraries and other institutions. For a full description of the bibliography see Annex C.

### 4. Magazine articles

From conversations with Directors and Counsel of the Fund, the members of our Committee have become well informed of the entirely understandable desire of the Directors to accomplish useful work as soon as possible in furthering the general purposes of the foundation. In this eminently proper wish every member of

the Committee and its staff is in hearty concord. We are sure that the Directors want our best judgment as to what can, and what can not, best be done quickly, and to that end we make our unanimous recommendations concerning early periodical publications.

(a) The Committee feels that a prominent published statement, on behalf of the Directors of the Fund for the Republic, giving its origin and objectives, would be highly desirable at this time. Such a statement, the Committee believes, would facilitate the work of the various projects of the Fund by creating popular sympathy for the Fund and the work it sponsors. This should make it easier to enlist the cooperation of those whose assistance must be sought. Such a major article by a spokesman for the Fund would be welcomed by any leading periodical.

(b) The Committee has considered the production of a paper on the method of studying communism and the need that exists for such a study. The Committee feels that such a paper, telling of its search through the record, its bibliography, etc., might interest scholars. It would be of doubtful general interest to the public. The Committee is not enthusiastic about its production at this time.

(c) The Committee has carefully considered and discussed the immediate production of a paper on the subject of what the Record shows about communism in the United States. Although sympathetic with the desire on the part of the Fund's directors for some concrete accomplishment at an early date, the Committee feels that such an undertaking at this time would be premature and would tend to depreciate the value of a publication made after thorough study of the Record. The Committee recommends that such an article be not undertaken at present. Annex B of this report shows the progress made in this study during the last three months. It also shows the great amount of material accumulated during the last 36 years and more, some of it accessible only in distant places, which remains to be examined. We feel that it would be a mistake for the Fund to open itself to the charge of going off half-cocked. Any person who may desire to minimize or carp at the Fund may seize upon small errors, not important in themselves, made in good faith and because of haste, and such critics, utilizing an ancient device of many antagonistic advocates, may publicize such small mistakes so loudly that the great bulk of substantial truth is lost to the public.

If however<sup>1</sup>, the Directors feel that early preparation of such a paper is desirable, the material accumu-

lated and arranged by the Committee's staff will be of great assistance to whatever writer the Directors may select to prepare the article. He will receive any and all help the Committee and staff can give him. The members of the Committee, however, are confident that the Directors would not wish them to associate their names with any publications which they have not approved in full.

5. Estimate of cost and personnel required for recommended projects

The three projects of a short range nature, recommended by the Committee, can be completed by September 1, 1954. The Committee recommends that the services of Charles Corker be retained until that date in connection with the completion of these projects. It is recommended that his compensation be fixed at \$750 per month, which will amount to a total commitment for his salary of almost \$8,250 from October 6, the date at which the three-months' survey will terminate, until the following September 1st. In addition, there should be made available for secretarial service, typewriter, Soundsciber, microfilm reader, reproducing equipment, and necessary travel the sum of \$4,000.

For the microfilm library \$5,000 should be appropriated to cover the costs of the microfilm process. At 4¢ per frame, this will permit microfilming of from

100,000 to 200,000 pages. (One or two pages can be included on a frame, depending on the size of the page.) This estimate is only a rough calculation; less than this sum may be spent; a request for additional sums may be made if the need becomes clear. At this time it is not known how many pages should, in reason, be reproduced, and the figure of \$5,000 is inserted as a ceiling until further experience can be had.

The additional cost of completing the card bibliography is estimated at \$4,000. About half of this sum will be required for the mechanical process of duplicating cards. The services of Mrs. Brenneman on a part time basis can probably be retained since she will be practicing law in the Boston area. She has been paid at the rate of \$1.25 per hour, but the unusual competence she has shown, the know-how she has acquired and the fact that the Fund will be asking for what would otherwise be her leisure time makes it appropriate that she be paid at the rate of at least \$2.00 per hour hereafter. Other assistance will be necessary.

The cost of completing the digest of the official record is estimated at \$2,000. While the number of items that must be catalogued is much smaller than the number of items in the bibliography, their inaccessibility involves a higher cost. It is estimated that from 800 to 1,000 items will be included. These will be placed on

cards which will be duplicated and cross indexed in a manner similar to the bibliography.

A tabulation of these estimates is as follows:

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| Bibliographical card-record and selected reading list   | \$4,000      |
| Digest of the "Communist Record" on multilith cards   | 2,000        |
| Microfilm records (appropriation for records appearing to be desirable, at 4¢ per frame, plus travel and incidentals) | 5,000        |
| Charles Corker -- salary 11 months  | 8,250        |
| Office overhead -- Cambridge  | <u>4,000</u> |
|   | \$23,250     |

The unused portion of the appropriation of last summer would, of course, be available to use as part of this cost. The figure includes no provision for payment of members of an advisory committee. It is possible that the Directors may wish to create such a body. See p. 19.

B. Long range project -- a comprehensive history of American communism

Although communism is perhaps the most important single fact affecting our lives in the second half of the Twentieth Century, the amount of serious scholarship that has been devoted to American communism is pitifully small. Much of the serious writing in this area has consisted of critiques of counter-measures that have been taken against communism. Too little attention has been

devoted by detached scholars to the phenomenon that has called this activity into being. The selected bibliography, which appears in Annex C was prepared with the thought that these are the best available sources for one who would inform himself about this most discussed and most controversial problem. An examination of this list, and of the writings on which it is based, is an adequate demonstration that the best available material is not good enough.

For this reason the Committee recommends that the Fund for the Republic sponsor the production of a comprehensive history based not only upon the Record but also all other available sources of information. Such a work could well be one of the most important contributions which the Fund for the Republic could make.

This committee has discussed at length the best way to produce such a work. We feel that no method would be as satisfactory, in the long run, as finding a willing and eminently qualified author and scholar, giving him such time and such assistance, subject to his direction and guidance, as he needs, and having him produce the history. The superb work of Professor S. E. Morison of Harvard in producing the history of the naval operations in the Pacific in World War II is an example of the sort of work that might be done. Its value, prestige and persuasiveness would depend on the stature



of the man who produced it. The assistance, scholarly and clerical, which he would use, would depend on his needs and his accustomed mode of writing. The amount of material (as demonstrated by our digest of the Record and bibliography) is immense; and such a writer could undoubtedly make good use of a considerable staff of young men trained in scholarly research.

Commissioning such a work would, like investing capital in a new business venture, involve some risk. An author worth inviting would arrive at his own conclusions, which in some or many respects might possibly not agree with the ideas of those who commissioned him. His procedures could not be supervised by a committee of any sort if he was a man of the standing and independence needed to speak authoritatively.

Assuming that such a man could be found, and that he wanted a staff of assistants, the Fund could well provide him with what he needed. Appendix A shows how such a staff could be used (if the author wished so to use them).

The Committee has discussed, as an alternative, the production of such a book by, say, five younger men who could perhaps more easily be found, under the guidance of a director of research. Such a plan is not an impossibility. But in considering it, the Directors should remember that there is no substitute for the mature and ripe judgment of an experienced and balanced man. Six almost-experts are not the equivalent of one master.

A minimum of three years from the start of producing a definitive history would be required for its completion. If it were determined to start such a project in the autumn of 1954, the search for personnel and the making of plans should begin almost at once. The cost of the project, it is estimated, would be over \$200,000, to be spent in approximately the following sums.

|  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| Pay for the principal writer<br>(Three years at \$20,000 per year)   | \$60,000                  |
| Pay for five younger scholars<br>(Two years at sums ranging from<br>\$5,000 to \$10,000 per year)  | 80,000                    |
| Director of Research and administrative<br>expense (\$10,000 per year for director<br>of research, \$5,000 per year for office<br>expense for two years) | 30,000                    |
| Secretarial assistance   | 18,000                    |
| Travel (to be controlled by voucher)   | 10,000                    |
| Books and documents  | <u>8,000</u><br>\$206,000 |

These calculations are made with the thought that, except for the work of the principal writer, whose task would be to apply his wisdom and philosophic insight to the material worked on by his assistants, the work might be completed in two years. The writer with major responsibility would require a year longer. It is possible that these time calculations are too short. Provision should be made for extending the time, if needed, in which case an appropriate sum would be added to the cost.

The proposal is discussed at greater length in Annex A. What is said there about the selection of the author needs to be emphasized here. The Committee feels strongly that the primary consideration, if the Fund for the Republic undertakes this project, is to secure a scholar whose past accomplishments give promise that he will produce a work of lasting importance. His would be the principal task, and his should be the responsibility. Hence, proposals made here are chiefly for the purpose of demonstrating the feasibility of the project and to give a basis for estimating time and cost required. All decisions about personnel, facilities, and organization of the project should be left for the approval of the author of the proposed book.

The total cost of such a project may seem to the Directors, as it seemed to the Committee, to be large. To a certain extent the venture is speculative, because there can be no guarantee in advance that the sum once spent would produce a finished work which would justify the hopes of the Committee and the Directors. Such a book could and should be comprehensive in its inclusion of factual data. But it would necessarily incorporate the conclusions of the man who wrote it, and these conclusions can be no sounder than his judgment. Certainly, such a work would not, like oil on troubled waters, still all controversy over communism in the United States.

But if successful -- and with care in the selection of people, the prospects of success are good -- the finished work would be a contribution the importance of which it is hard to overestimate.

C. Advisory body

The Directors may perhaps find it useful to set up a small advisory group to assist in guiding such short range projects as may be undertaken. In the event that a great work of scholarship is undertaken, the scholar in charge would doubtless profit by a committee of consultants -- but this would be a matter for his recommendation.

One suggestion from the Committee should be called to the attention of the Directors. Liaison between the various related projects which the Fund for the Republic undertakes is helpful. Such liaison not only avoids duplication of effort, but helps in getting advice and counsel from those concerned with related problems.

Attached are the following annexes:

|   |                   |
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| Annex A. Detailed Recommendations of the Committee  | <u>Page</u><br>21 |
| Annex B. Preliminary Survey of the Communist Record | 44                |
| Annex C. Description of Bibliographical Study       | 118               |

Charles Fairman

Clinton Rossiter

Rev. Joseph M. Snee, S.J.

Arthur E. Sutherland, Chairman

ANNEX A  
RECOMMENDATIONS IN DETAIL

The recommendations of the Committee are in two categories. In the first, the Committee recommends three projects which can be brought to completion by September 1, 1954, with personnel already available or probably procurable at Cambridge, and with relatively small cost. These are: (1) completion of the digest of the proceedings which comprise the Communist Record, (2) assembling a microfilm library of material in that Record of items which are not generally available, and (3) completion of a critical bibliography on communism in the United States. The second category includes only one major recommendation -- that the Fund for the Republic sponsor the writing of a comprehensive history and survey of communism in the United States.

A. Short range projects

1. Completion of the digest of the communist record

Since the Communist Party was first established in the United States in 1919, communism has been at issue in a large number of public proceedings. Some of these proceedings took place before the organization of the first communist party.

The judicial proceedings include a substantial number of prosecutions in the federal courts. The earliest of these were prosecutions under the Espionage Act of 1917. Later important federal prosecutions have been under the Smith Act of 1940, which makes criminal the advocacy of overthrow of the Government by force or violence, or membership with knowledge of the organization's purpose in any organization which advocates overthrow of the Government by force and violence. Criminal prosecutions in the federal courts concerning Communists or communism have also been conducted on charges of espionage (meaning here the actual stealing of official secrets), perjury, and contempt for refusing to answer questions before congressional committees and before grand juries. A substantial amount of litigation in the federal courts involves denaturalization and deportation of members of the Communist Party. Cases in the federal courts have also involved the federal government's loyalty program.

In the state courts criminal prosecutions have taken place under criminal syndicalism, criminal anarchy, sedition, insurrection, and the so-called "red flag" statutes. Litigation has also centered around the administration of state and local loyalty programs, and legislative or administrative steps designed to keep communist candidates off the ballot as candidates for

public office. Other cases involve prosecutions for contempt of state legislative investigating committees, very similar in their issues to cases in the federal courts. There have been prosecutions for unlawful assembly and for obstructing justice. Communism has also been involved in both state and federal courts in defamation cases.

Legislative bodies, both federal and state, have paid a great deal of attention to communism. Congressional hearings go back to early 1919 prior to establishment of the first predecessor of the present Communist Party, when a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee held hearings on Russian propaganda in the United States. State legislative investigations go back to the Lusk Committee in New York which filed its 4450-page report on "Revolutionary Radicalism" in April, 1920. In the last fifteen years the number of state and federal legislative investigations of communism has greatly increased.

Administrative records dealing with communism are hard to locate and often are not available to the public. Deportation hearings are normally available only when incorporated in judicial records in cases where the alien subject to a deportation order has sought release by habeas corpus. Loyalty investigations and clearance procedures applicable to public employees rarely provide



issues which can be litigated in the courts. When proceedings do not become the subject of litigation, the records are usually not publicly available. Nevertheless, a persistent effort may turn up administrative records of substantial importance. The opinion of the federal Subversive Activities Control Board in Brownell v. Communist Party (See Annex B, p. 69 ), ordering the Communist Party to register as a Communist-action organization under the provisions of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, has been incorporated in a Senate Document. The testimony is not generally available.

The Committee feels that a cataloguing of the available material in the Record is desirable as a first step in facilitating any comprehensive and accurate study of communism in the United States. Accordingly, it recommends that the digest of the public record be completed.

In its final form this digest should include a listing with as much completeness as it is possible to achieve of the following materials relating to communism:

- (1) Cases and other judicial materials.
- (2) Statutes and local ordinances.
- (3) Legislative hearings and reports, both state and federal.
- (4) Administrative materials available from (a) the federal government, (b) state governments, and (c) local agencies such as school boards.

Each item should be reduced to a card with citation and descriptive material. Cards should be duplicated for cross indexing under a descriptive topical classification. A reasonable number of sets should be produced so as to make them widely available through libraries and other institutions.

2. Microfilm library of materials in the official record on communism which are not generally available

Much of the significant material in the public record of communism is not generally available. This is true of the transcripts of the testimony and exhibits in most communist trials. It is also true of the transcripts of testimony in administrative proceedings at the federal, state, and local levels. State and local legislative materials are also often quite inaccessible.

Accordingly, the Committee recommends that the Fund for the Republic make possible a microfilm library of some of the most important material which is now inaccessible to most writers and scholars. . Completeness in this library is not contemplated. The criteria of selection for microfilming should be: (a) the significance of the item; (b) its unavailability in the absence of microfilming; (c) its possible loss or destruction if not preserved on microfilm.

Arrangements should be made, after collection of the material, to turn it over to some library or other agency which will undertake to duplicate items at cost or otherwise make them available to persons doing research on communism in the United States.

### 3. Completion of the bibliography

The bibliography project is described in detail in Annex C, which begins at page 118. The Committee feels that this bibliography, on which a substantial amount of work has already been done, should be completed. It should be maintained on cards mechanically duplicated under cross-index subject headings. It is recommended that at least twenty-five complete bibliography files be prepared.

Maintaining the bibliography file on cards will have the advantage of making possible additions on a continuing basis. This is desirable because no bibliography is ever complete. Not only is new material constantly being published, but older material is constantly turned up. Finding and cataloguing a great deal of the material published by the Communist Party and its front organizations is peculiarly difficult, since much of it consists of pamphlets, leaflets, and periodicals which had but a brief and occasionally a sub rosa existence. Much of this material, we have been informed by Father Nolan, exists in private collections to which

public access is not freely permitted. If the bibliography is maintained in conjunction with the preparation of a comprehensive history and survey of American communism, it will undoubtedly be much larger at the end of the process than it is now, even for the years prior to 1953.

The bibliography in its present form does not cover the antecedents of the Communist Party prior to 1919. It does not cover theoretical Marxism or international communism. It does not cover portions of books, like histories of the labor movement, which deal only in part with Communism. The Committee feels that in these areas the bibliography should be selective rather than comprehensive.

#### 4. Magazine articles

The possibilities of periodical publications have been discussed in the report proper at page 9.

#### 5. Estimate of cost and time required for recommended projects

See the report proper, pages 12 to 14.

#### B. Proposal for a Comprehensive History and Survey of Communism in the United States

The title page of this report quotes President Eisenhower's comparison of ignorance of communism with

ignorance of a dangerous disease. If a physical ailment were the problem, it would be dealt with by establishing appropriate scientific resources for its study. What this proposal amounts to is that comparable measures be taken to study communism and to make the results available to the public.

Many -- perhaps most -- of today's restrictions on human freedom throughout the world, including the United States, arise from Russian communism, its foreign extensions, and efforts to take appropriate counter-measures to meet its threats. The fundamental question facing the people of the United States is the extent of the limits they must impose on their own liberties in order to survive. This question can only be answered intelligently by a citizenry well informed about the capabilities of their adversary; and those capabilities depend, in a significant part, on the nature, organization, strength and dispositions of the communist movement in the United States. The American people are, of course, aware of the importance to them of this fact, and they eagerly seize on information, responsible or otherwise, which may add to their capability of judgment. The Fund for the Republic could perform no greater public service than to make available to thoughtful Americans a non-sensational, careful, accurate account of the communist movement in their midst, its origins,

development, strength, tactics and significance. This would require long, skilled and costly work. The effort would be worth while if it shed any light on the extent to which we must, in order that this nation may survive, restrict the freedoms which we have inherited.

Communism in the United States has been the subject of a great body of literature. Much of it, unfortunately, does little to raise the level of popular understanding. Much of it has been produced by the Communist Party itself. A great deal of the literature critical of communism comes from the pens of ex-Communists. While often their writing is informative, they are suspect in the eyes of many persons because of their former communist affiliations. Many of them are so emotionally involved with the subject matter that objectivity is impossible. Some lack the intellectual equipment to deal adequately with the complex problems involved.

We have found only two books which purport to be comprehensive histories of the Communist Party in the United States. William Z. Foster's "History of the Communist Party of the United States" (1952) is the longest and most complete, but the fact that its author is the national chairman of the Communist Party and under indictment for conspiracy to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government necessarily deprives the book of any claim to objectivity.

"American Communism" by James Oneal and G. A. Werner written from an anti-Communist point of view, is much more satisfactory for the general reader. Nevertheless, it lacks much, both in comprehensiveness and in interpretative qualities. The current edition was written in 1947, and was based on a 1927 edition by Oneal. It is already out of date.

The lack of an up-to-date, comprehensive and objective history and survey of communism in the United States is clear. We started with the suggestion from the Fund that such a survey might be based on the Record -- i.e., judicial, legislative, and administrative proceedings concerning communism and Communists. We have come to the conclusion, however, that a book which confined itself to these sources would have serious shortcomings. The public proceedings are not fully informative on various Communist Party activities, and aspects of its development. Confining the book to the Record would deprive it of some most revealing material-- published statements, journalistic or otherwise, of leading Communists about their own and their Party's objectives and methods. One would not write a history of the Nazi Party without reference to Mein Kampf. The importance of including in any comprehensive survey the Communist Party's writings about its own activity is reinforced by the fact that many of the criminal prose-

cutions of Communists are based primarily upon the Communist Party's own literature.

A logical order for the preparation of a comprehensive book might be something like the following:

1. Preparation of an outline history of the Communist Party from the Party's constitutions, convention documents, platforms and resolutions: The proceedings, statutes, theses, and manifestoes of the Communist International should be considered in conjunction with this material, since the Communist Party of America was until 1940 openly a section of the Comintern. The publications of the Communist Information Bureau, organized in 1947, should also be considered, even though the Party in this country has never openly affiliated with this international organization.

2. This outline history of the Communist Party should be filled in from Communist Party organs -- e.g., Daily and Sunday Worker, the Communist, and Political Affairs. These are also a useful source from which to find the basic documents not otherwise available.

3. The basic texts used in the Party's educational work should be studied. The periodical literature earlier examined will help in determining what texts were used at particular periods in the Party's history.

4. The fourth step might well be the use of the public record to supplement, evaluate, and interpret the



material thus far studied. There are several reasons why this use of the public record might well be postponed until the study of Communist Party sources is complete. In the first place, a large part of the public record in communist trials and investigations consist of excerpts from the writings which the Party had produced; these can be more effectively studied as a whole rather than in bits and pieces. In the second place, Party sources will give the continuity of the Party's history as a whole better than the record of proceedings which are necessarily episodic in nature. Finally, if those engaged in the research lack facility in understanding the curiously esoteric language in which most Party pronouncements are written, they will gain this skill at an early stage from the study of Party literature.

5. The autobiographical writing of ex-Communists and informers who have worked within the Party should be studied in close conjunction with the public record. Much of their writing complements the public record, since the writers are those responsible for a great deal of the information which the public record contains. Cross examination in adversary proceedings gives an important means of judging the credibility of the story which a witness has put in a book, although the book is usually more complete and orderly. Further cross checking for consistency is made possible by the fact that often the same witnesses have appeared in

judicial, legislative, and administrative proceedings in a variety of different contexts, and under the guidance of a number of different examiners.

6. Contemporary newspaper and periodical literature of non-communist origin should be consulted widely. This is important in two aspects: these sources give factual information about particular events, and they also help to appraise the information available to the public about communist activities and causes at any particular time. The latter aspect is particularly important for the reason that the Party seeks control of movements and organizations, often without publicly disclosing the existence or extent of its own influence.

7. Personal interviews with as many people as possible who have had personal experience with communist activity should be undertaken. Documentation whose existence is disclosed in other sources should be uncovered. An example is the collection of minutes from the Communist Party's Central Executive Committee which were used as exhibits when Benjamin Gitlow, who had been a member of that Committee, testified in Bridges v. Wixon, 326 U.S. 135 (1945). Personal interviews are more effective after enough work has been done by the interviewer to enable him to know what information he wants and to properly evaluate the information he obtains.

### Qualifications of the Writer

It goes almost without saying that any writer who undertakes a comprehensive history and survey of communism in the United States should be a competent and able scholar, a lucid writer, and a person of sound judgment and broad perspective. We have thought of him as a writer of distinction in the field of American history or political science, or perhaps in both. He should have an intimate acquaintance with the contemporary American scene since the end of World War I. American communism is not an isolated phenomenon; it is related to other political, economic and social forces. The American response to communism may be as important as communism itself.

The writer should become familiar with Marxian dialectic as promulgated by Marx and Engels, and developed by Lenin, Stalin, and other Soviet "theoreticians." He should be able to read the Daily Worker and Political Affairs with an understanding of the curious language of communism. This is not an easy skill to acquire.

He should be familiar with the American labor movement. Communist doctrines give a central position to the working class, and the Communist Party has made a vigorous effort to capture trade unions.

He must be familiar with major developments of

Soviet history since the Bolshevik revolution. Only by understanding Soviet objectives at any given moment can the activity and program of the Communist Party in the United States be adequately appraised. The internal struggles and purges of the Communist Party in Russia have been a major influence in the Communist movement in other parts of the world. Purges of Zinoviev, Bukharin, and Trotsky were important events in the history of American communism.

He should also have an understanding of earlier radical movements, like those of the anarchists and syndicalists, which have had important reverberations in this country. He should be in a position to appraise the pre-1919 influence of Marxism in the United States. The history should be a vehicle for evaluating the extent to which communism in the United States is a new phenomenon beginning with the Bolshevik revolution, and the extent to which it is a continuation and growth of earlier radical movements.

Finding any one scholar who meets all these requirements may be an impossible task. Of course some of the areas of special competence suggested are those in which one with a general background and substantial scholarly ability can acquire the necessary knowledge in the process of producing the history. Probably anyone associated with the writing of the history which

the Committee feels is needed would be faced with a substantial undertaking in self-education.

#### Research assistance

To commission a single writer to produce such a comprehensive history and survey of American communism without substantial assistance would be unrealistic. The magnitude of the task, and the critical need for such a work make desirable a resort to any steps which will materially cut down the time required for its production. However, if a competent man can be persuaded to undertake the work, he will necessarily do it in his own way. If he has the required ability and standing, he will have his own ideas of organizing his staff of assistants. As an example of the way in which such a staff could be utilized, the following outline is presented.

The author might call to his assistance five specialists, or individuals who would become specialists, in various aspects of his study, each of whom would have responsibility for doing the ground work in his own area. Finding these men would present a problem, of course. They might well be found at the assistant or associate professor level in various universities which might be persuaded to grant them leave for the necessary period. Some of them might be found among

younger lawyers of talent. Their several tasks might be divided as follows:

1. The history of the American Communist Party, considering its more or less overt manifestations as a political party

This part of the study would include the left wing radical movements which have had intellectual roots in European revolutionary thought. It would also include the Marxist groups which have had a separate existence from the Communist Party, such as the Proletarian Party, Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party, U.S.A. (Lovestoneites), etc. This branch of the study would also examine the relationship of communism in the United States to the Third International, the Communist Information Bureau, and the Soviet Union.

2. Communism and the American Labor movement

This is perhaps the most complex area of all. It would include a study of the Communist Party's labor policies. This would involve a study of the activity of the Trade Union Educational League which existed until 1929, of the Trade Union Unity League which supplanted it and continued until 1935. It would also include a study of important Communist-led strikes, and the struggles between Communists and non-Communists to control labor unions. Its most valuable product would be an

appraisal of communist objectives and tactics in the trade union movement.

### 3. Communists in government

This is a somewhat narrower topic than the two preceding ones, but a valuable work could be done by assembling all of the available information on communist penetration of the Government, and evaluating the sources of this information. Communist penetration of government has two aspects, both of which should be the subject of study:

- a. Espionage;
- b. Communist influence over governmental policies.

An assembling and appraisal of all available evidence would be a signal contribution.

### 4. Communist efforts to control particular segments of the American public

This would include a study of the so-called "fronts" through which communists have sought to exercise influence in the United States: youth groups (Pioneers, Young Communist League, American Youth for Democracy, the Labor Youth League); communications (communist press, writers groups, publishing houses, etc.); education; entertainment and the arts; civil liberties (International Labor Defense, Civil Rights Congress, etc.); farmers (farm labor party organizational efforts); veterans; unemployed;

church groups; Negroes; other minorities. The techniques the Communist Party uses in organizing fronts and capturing non-communist organizations should be included here.

5. Impact on the Communist Party and on the public of counter-measures to suppress and control communist activity

This part of the study should include a treatment of various laws which relate to communism, and the efforts that have been made by public and private agencies and groups to inform the public about communism. It would be desirable to include a study of similar measures in other non-communist countries.\*

The ground work which these five men produce could be organized in one book by the principal writer under whose guidance and direction they worked. In addition to the book which would be the principal end-product of the work, shorter monographs on a variety of subjects related to communism might well appear. Of course, material would thus be provided for one or more popular books of high quality, and for periodical writing.

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\*No mention has been made of the study of the psychological problems which may be an important factor in motivating people to join the Communist Party. This is the subject of Ernst and Loth, Report on the American Communist, Annex C, p. 124. A thorough study of the problems which Ernst and Loth open up would be a major project in itself.



The large study would, one hopes, become the standard source of reliable information.

In addition to the work of the principal author and his assisting specialists, it would be necessary to have someone look after this team, administer the finances and travel, etc. (much material is in New York and Washington), advise on sources of material, and in general perform the sort of fostering that a professor in charge of a group of graduate students performs. This is not a duty that any person already engaged in full-time functions should or could attempt to do in odd spare moments. Nor is it a duty that the principal writer of the book should be required to undertake, since his full time and energy should be devoted to research and writing.

#### Cost estimates

The Committee has estimated the cost of this project at \$206,000, to be spent in approximately the following sums:

- |     |   |          |
|-----|---|----------|
| (a) | Pay for the principal writer<br>(Three years at \$20,000 per year)  | \$60,000 |
| (b) | Pay for five younger scholars<br>(Two years at sums ranging from<br>\$5,000 to \$10,000 per year)   | 80,000   |
| (c) | Coordinator of research and<br>administrative expense (\$10,000 per<br>year for coordinator of research,<br>\$5,000 per year for office expense<br>for two years) | 30,000   |

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| (d) Secretarial assistance (including preparation of manuscripts) | 18,000           |
| (e) Travel  | 10,000           |
| (f) Books and documents, microfilming, etc.                       | 8,000            |
|   | <u>\$206,000</u> |

This budget is based on an assumption that in two years the principal research could be done, and that a third year would be required for the writing of the book from this completed research. The project should be set up with the realization that an additional year may be required for some parts or all of the work, in which case an additional fifty per cent (except for the books and documents item) should be added to the budget.

Some comment on the items in this proposed budget seems appropriate. The sum in item (a) represents the Committee's judgment that every inducement should be offered to secure a principal author of the highest caliber. The sum suggested is larger than academic salaries, but it should be remembered that most academic salaries are paid for required duties involving daily attendance only during a nine month period of each year. The same factors were taken into consideration in arriving at the sum in item (b), the compensation for the five younger men. Item (c), which provides for a coordinator of research and administration, is designed to insure that the maximum energies of the producing

scholars be spent in work on the history. It is felt that this provision for taking care of the thousand and one minor problems will be well repaid in greater efficiency of the project. The sum for secretarial assistance will provide three secretaries for three years at a salary of \$2,000 per year. This will make possible the preparation of manuscripts, and will facilitate the keeping of financial and other records of the operation.

Item (e) to provide for travel may seem large, but it should be recognized that much of the communist activity in the United States has manifested itself in localized strikes, campaigns, and drives of various sorts in a number of local areas. There is no way to get details of local episodes except to go to the locality concerned. Furthermore, as already noted, many of the materials are in New York and Washington.

\* \* \*

The foreign-manipulated communist movement in the United States has had a long development. The reaction against it by the American people, over a period of more than thirty years, has been stronger and more

consistent than is always realized. These two forces, reacting on one another, have important consequences for the liberty of the individual in this country. For any relatively small group to affect in any way the force or direction of this reaction is at best difficult, perhaps impossible. If it can be done, it must be through the dispassionate discovery of facts and the clear explanation of truth to those fair-minded citizens who are willing to listen and think, and whose informed leadership (if we are justified in our faith in the democratic process) will in time prevail.

Our Committee had made its recommendations with this hope in mind.

## ANNEX B

### A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE COMMUNIST RECORD

When the preliminary survey of the communist record was undertaken, it was thought that it might be possible to gather from the record of public proceedings in the United States relating to communism the materials and information necessary to write a comprehensive history and survey of communism in this country. One of the principal functions of the survey was to explore that possibility.

Our conclusion is that the Record is not, by itself, an adequate source of information for a complete understanding of American communism. It might well, however, prove to be the most important single source.

The purpose of this section of the report is to give a summary idea of the contents of the Record.

#### What Constitutes the "Communist Record" in the United States?

Of course the 'record' of the Communists could be taken in a broad sense to mean all traces of their activity, -- particularly all written material. This Committee understands its mission from the Directors to encompass a narrower meaning for the term. Here 'record' will be used to describe public proceedings, either state or federal, whether conducted by executive,

legislative or judicial authorities, which concern Communists, communist organizations or activities.

Clearly a principal duty of this Committee is the compilation of a list of items constituting the Record. Clearly, too, such a list is bound to be somewhat incomplete despite our best efforts. For one thing, new items are continually being added by various public authorities. For another, items are in many cases inconspicuous. Nevertheless the Committee feels that it has compiled a reasonably adequate card-index of the most important items and that no great discoveries of Record material remain to be made. One caution, perhaps obvious, should here be stated. Much material is officially secret. Presumably a number of public agencies have files of material on communist activity which are concealed for policy reasons. Our research is necessarily limited to material openly available to private citizens.

#### The Legislative Record

The Committee staff has compiled a card-index of about 225 items of legislative material. These include the publications of congressional committees as well as comparable State material going back to the "Bolshevik Propaganda" hearings before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee in 1919.

### The Executive Record

The Committee has attempted a compilation and indexing of some executive material. Completeness in this field is particularly difficult to achieve. The Record comprises not only great proceedings like Brownell v. The Communist Party before the Subversive Activities Control Board, and the abortive deportation proceedings involving Harry Bridges, but also many minor proceedings before various state and federal loyalty boards, school authorities, etc. A compilation even approaching completeness would require extensive travel and local inquiry, not possible during this preliminary study.

### The Judicial Record

The Committee has prepared a reasonably complete index of State and federal reported court proceedings involving Communists, as well as some peripheral cases. Problems of definition arise at once. Should 'wobbly' (I.W.W.) cases under State anti-syndicalism statutes be included? A certain number of these have been examined and indexed for the sake of completeness. What of the Scottsboro cases, which involved trials for rape, but in which the International Labor Defense was active? Such questions the Committee and staff have resolved in favor of completeness in a number of instances, adding

a note where appropriate. Approximately 80 cases in federal courts and 180 in state courts have been examined and indexed. A good many thousand pages of testimony have been read and abstracted.

#### Characteristics of the Communist Public Record

Information in the "public record" does not differ remarkably in kind from information available from other sources. Indeed, the records of the judicial proceedings which have been examined to a large extent consist of the fragmentary presentation of communist books and documents designed to show that the Communist Party advocates the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States. A more effective way to analyze this literature is not by going through disconnected excerpts which appear in the transcripts of testimony and exhibits, but by going to the literature itself. There is no other adequate way of appraising the claim made by Communists in their own defense that excerpts are taken out of context and unfairly picture their Party's program. Furthermore, the Communist Party's advocacy of violence, which is the only relevant issue in many of the proceedings, is but one aspect of its program and activity.

The record is, however, an invaluable supplement to the Communist documents themselves, because from it



can be determined how the books and documents are used and the nature of the organization that uses them. Cross examination in adversary proceedings, and in particular the cross examination of Communist defendants, is a remarkably penetrating device by which to gain insight into the nature of communist objectives and communist activity.

Proceedings before legislative investigating bodies differ from judicial proceedings in at least two important respects. The issues are rarely, if ever, precisely defined as they are in judicial proceedings. This permits a much broader range of inquiry, but it unfortunately involves also a much less sharply delineated fact-finding process, uncontrolled by judicial rules of evidence. In the second place, witnesses who are usually either friendly or hostile to those conducting the investigation are examined by only one "side." This means that the procedure lacks the probing which results in the court room from direct examination followed by cross examination, and the resulting test of credibility. Nevertheless, both legislative and judicial proceedings, as well as administrative proceedings, have the advantage over unofficial sources of information that testimony is under oath and that subject to restrictions of the Fifth Amendment witnesses can be compelled to testify.

Much of what is known about the Communist Party, aside from the Party's own publications, comes from ex-Communists and from government agents who have posed as Communists. Many of these people have written extensively about their experiences with the Party. They have also testified in numerous proceedings. The records of these proceedings complement their writings, and a cross checking between their writings and testimony is made possible.

Conclusions of official committees and other bodies (as distinguished from the evidence introduced before them), embodied in their reports and opinions, are the product of evaluation and judgment. They are as reliable as the judgment of the men drawing the conclusions -- neither more nor less. This part of the Record is a valuable source of information, but it cannot be used without critical evaluation. In this respect it does not differ appreciably from the other historical materials of which it forms a major part.

An account of some public proceedings  
whose records the Committee has considered

Judicial proceedings

- I. People v. Ruthenberg 229 Mich. 315; 201 N.W. 358 (1925); appeal dismissed on death of Ruthenberg, 273 U.S. 782 (1927).

The transcript of the record in this case, filed in the United States Supreme Court, is 188 pages in length. An abstract is in the Committee files.

In 1922 the Communist Party of America held a secret convention at Bridgman, Michigan, attended by about 70 delegates including three representatives of the Comintern. The Communist Party had previously been driven underground by the Palmer raids, and the Bridgman convention made plans for a "number two Party" called the "Workers Party," to be continued alongside the Communist Party of America, the "number one Party," which would continue its illegal work underground.

On the last day of the convention a party of law-enforcement officers, including agents of the Department of Justice who had followed the convention to Bridgman, arrested Ruthenberg and sixteen others (including one Francis Morrow of New Jersey, an undercover man for the Department of Justice). The Comintern representatives and many of the delegates had already left, but the law enforcement officers discovered complete Party records in two barrels buried

on the grounds, including the Party names of all the delegates.

Ruthenberg was convicted of violating Michigan's criminal syndicalism statute, which prohibits the use or advocacy of unlawful acts or violence to accomplish industrial or political reform. The record in the case is a rich source of Communist Party documents and information. This record was filed in the United States Supreme Court, but Ruthenberg died before his appeal was heard.

Documents which appear in the record, either in full length or in excerpts, include the following:

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| Constitution and Program of Communist Party<br>of America adopted 1921                                  | P. 74  |
| Theses and Resolutions of the Third World<br>Congress of the Communist International                    | P. 93  |
| Program of World Revolution, by N. Bukharin   | P. 100 |
| Report on Trade Union Program and the Trade<br>Union Educational League                                 | P. 128 |
| Program of the Workers' Party   | P. 138 |
| Theses of the Executive Committee of the<br>Communist International (probably 1921)                     | P. 158 |
| Minutes of the Central Executive Committee<br>and programs for the Number One and<br>Number Two Parties | P. 170 |
| The Communist, July, 1922<br>(Article by Ruthenberg on organization)                                    | P. 177 |

Unfortunately many other documents introduced as exhibits were not printed in the Supreme Court record.

Important witnesses were Francis Morrow, Ruthenberg, and Jay Lovestone.

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America in its report to the Third National Convention in Chicago, in December, 1923, and January, 1924, had this to say about the trial of Ruthenberg (and other defendants who were acquitted):

Probably the greatest propaganda for the fundamentals of Communism was that carried on through the defense in the Michigan trials. The Central Executive Committee considered the question of policy to be followed during these trials and decided that advantage must be taken of the opportunity to reach the working masses of this country with Communist propaganda. As a result of this decision, Comrades Ruthenberg and Foster went on the witness stand to state the Communist principles. The fact that the testimony thus was printed practically everywhere in the United States with the results [sic] that millions of workers for the first time heard of our movement and its principles is well known to the delegates to this convention.

It was also during the Michigan trials that the slogan of a "Workers' and Farmers' Government" was first thrown out, in accordance with the decision of the Central Executive Committee. The enlarged session of the Communist International, which adopted the slogan of "A Workers' and Farmers' Government" for the whole International, gave our Party credit for having first raised this slogan before the masses.

Reprinted in House Un-American Activities Committee, 76th Cong. 1st Sess. (1940), Appendix Part I, p. 330 at 343.

2. Schneiderman v. United States, 320 U.S. 118 (1943).

A transcript of the record, filed in the United States Supreme Court, is 904 pages long. An abstract is in the files.

This was a proceeding to denaturalize William Schneiderman, who had become a citizen of the United States in 1927 while an active member of the Workers (Communist) Party of the United States and the Young Workers' League. The issue presented was whether a belief in the tenets of Communism was inconsistent with Schneiderman's having been "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same," as required by Act of June 29, 1906, 34 Stat. 598. Schneiderman had taken an oath to that effect in order to become naturalized, and the Government contended that his Communist affiliation and activity made his naturalization fraudulent and voidable. Since Schneiderman at the hearing in 1939 not only admitted his Communist affiliation but was eager to expound Party principles, the case presents a relatively clear-cut judicial inquiry into the nature of those principles.

Only Schneiderman's activities and beliefs during the five-year period preceding his naturalization were directly relevant to the issues, but a large amount of

evidence of Communist doctrines after 1927 were offered by both sides on the theory that this was relevant to show his character and attitudes during the five-year period preceding his naturalization.

Schneiderman testified on one hand that he subscribed to the principles of the organizations with which he was affiliated. R. 92, 102. On the other hand, he testified that he had assumed the obligations of citizenship in good faith (R. 363), and that he had been and continued to be attached to both the letter and the spirit of the United States Constitution. R. 896. He had not stated his membership in the Communist Party at the time of his naturalization because he then believed and continued to believe that it is not "an organization opposed to organized government, nor is it an organization that advocates the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, nor is it an organization incompatible with the obligations of American citizenship." R. 363.

The Government's case was presented through Schneiderman, who was called on to identify a number of Communist Party publications and Marxist books, and by Miles G. Humphreys, a former Communist, and William F. Hynes, a Los Angeles police officer who had been engaged for a number of years in anti-radical activity for the Police Department. Hynes testified that the

Party proposed to bring about changes in the Government by force and violence. R. 330. Humphreys testified that the Communists taught that "the capitalistic government would resist the establishment of the Soviet system, through force and violence, and that the working class would be justified in using force and violence to establish the Soviet system of society." R. 200.

Schneiderman, as a part of his testimony, was permitted to read into the record the statements and testimony of two members of the Stanford University faculty who had appeared in 1939 at the first deportation hearing of Harry Bridges before James M. Landis as Trial Examiner. Harold Chapman Brown, head of the Philosophy Department, had presented an exposition of dialectical materialism at the Bridges hearing, and had stated in cross examination that he did not believe that "the Communist Party intends or has any plans to initiate force and violence." Browder, he said, is "strong for democratic organization." R. 562.

Walter Thompson of the Stanford Political Science Department had also read a lengthy paper on Marxism in which he stated that while he was not familiar with the views of the American Communist Party, if it does "advise or advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence, it is departing from the teachings of Marx and Engels, not only in theory but in practice." R. 757.



The force and violence issue turned out to be the basic one in the case. Judge Michael Roche ordered Schneiderman denaturalized. 33 F. Supp. 310 (N.D. Cal. 1940). His decision was affirmed by the Circuit Court of Appeals. 119 F. 2d 500 (9th Cir. 1941). The Supreme Court reversed, in a five to three decision, and Schneiderman kept his citizenship. The Court had little trouble with the Communist Party's substantive program as being contrary to constitutional principles, since constitutional change by constitutional means is permissible. But extra-constitutional means of achieving change the Court viewed as determinative. On this issue, while expressing itself as unwilling to say that a reasonable man could not have found from the evidence that the Party advocated overthrow of the Government by force and violence, the Court held that the Government had not established its case by clear, unequivocal, and convincing evidence. It was tenable to conclude that the Party advocated violence only to prevent a counter-overthrow once it had attained power, or as a last resort if constitutional or peaceful channels of change were no longer open. It was on this issue that three justices dissented. They felt that not only is dictatorship contrary to constitutional principles, but the evidence was clear that the Party did advocate violence and other unlawful means of achieving its goals.

The basic evidence in this case consisted of books and other literature published or circulated by the Party. These are the publications on which the Government's case largely rested:

Constitution and By-Laws of the Communist Party of the United States (1938). R. 14-38

Program of the Communist International, Sixth World Congress, 1928. R. 109-122

Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto. R. 124-127

Lenin, State and Revolution. R. 129-143

Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder. R. 144-147.

Program of the Young Communist International.. R. 152-157

Foster and Gitlow, Acceptance Speeches (1928). R. 256-262

Stalin, Theory and Practice of Leninism. R. 212-218.

Workers (Communist) Party, The 4th National Convention (1925). R. 241-247

Workers Party, The Second Year of the Workers Party of America. R. 249-254

National Platform of the Workers (Communist) Party (1928). R. 264-269

Magazine, The International of Youth.. R. 270-272

M. J. Olgin, Why Communism? R. 166-174

Bukharin and Preobraschensky, A.B.C. of Communism, R. 187-192

Workers Party of America, Program and Constitution, adopted 1921, amended 1923-1924. R. 277-313.

3. Dennis v. United States, 341 U.S. 494 (1951).

The transcript of the record in the Supreme Court is 15,900 pages long. An abstract is in the files.

This case was the first proceeding under the Smith Act of 1940 against members of the Communist Party. Eleven members of the National Board of the Party were convicted of a conspiracy to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government between the period from the reconstitution of the Communist Party in 1945 to the date of the indictment in 1948. The Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court affirmed the conviction.

As in the Schneiderman case the Government's contentions rested primarily on literature circulated by the Communist Party. But there were several basic differences between this case and Schneiderman:

1. The trial in the Dennis case lasted over six months whereas the trial in the Schneiderman case lasted only three or four days.

2. Schneiderman was a willing and cooperative witness, whereas the defendants in the Dennis case were truculent and disorderly. The courthouse was picketed, and defense counsels' tactics were such as to achieve their disbarment.

3. There was no evidence that Schneiderman had ever engaged in any unlawful conduct, whereas the Dennis defendants who testified were shown to have made

fraudulent passport applications, passed under a variety of names, made false statements in applications for government employment, and in general lived in contempt of the law.

4. Schneiderman, although a member of the National Committee, had not served on the National Board, and hence it was harder to bring home to him some of the literature the Party had distributed.

5. Schneiderman's effort to dismiss Lenin's revolutionary writing as a product of another time and place was likewise attempted in the Dennis case, but was unsuccessful because of the Government's panoply of witnesses who testified, and supported their testimony with recently produced study outlines, to show how these materials were used.

6. The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) had been added to the Communist Party's basic texts by the time of the Dennis case, and its enthusiastic accounts of the policy of turning an "imperialist war" into a civil war were particularly telling against the defendants.

7. The Government in the Dennis case did a far more effective job of showing the Party's over-all operation, its schools, its penetration of labor unions, its secrecy, and the deviousness of the twisting Party line to serve the Soviet Union.

8. The Government witnesses in the Schneiderman case were one policeman and one ex-Communist of no particular importance.\* The following witnesses testified for the Government in the Dennis case:

(a) Louis F. Budenz, ex-Communist who had served as editor of the Daily Worker prior to his leaving the Party in October 1945.

(b) Herbert A. Philbrick, FBI informant who had been a member of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party for a total of seven years in the Boston area.

(c) Frank S. Meyer, a member of the Communist Party from 1942 to 1945 (or 1946), who had served as a teacher at the Jefferson School in New York and at the Chicago Workers School.

(d) Fred G. Cook and Eugene H. Stewart, FBI special agents, Detroit, who had attended a Lenin Memorial meeting in January, 1946.

(e) William O. Nowell, Communist Party member from 1929 to 1936 in the Michigan area. He had attended the Lenin Institute in Moscow.

(f) Charles W. Nicodemus, Communist Party member from 1937 to 1940 and 1944 to 1946 in the Cumberland, Md., area.

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\*Schneiderman was convicted of violating the Smith Act in 1952. United States v. Schneiderman, 106 F. Supp. 906 (S.D. Cal. 1952).

(g) Garfield Herron, a member of the Communist Party in Chicago from 1944 to 1947, and an FBI informant dating from two or three months after he joined.

(h) Angela Calomiris, an FBI informant in the Party in New York from 1942 to the date of the trial.

(i) Thomas Aaron Younglove, an FBI informant in the Party in St. Louis from 1945 to 1947.

(j) William Cummings, an FBI informant in the Party in Toledo since 1943.

(k) John V. Blanc, Communist Party member from 1934 to 1936, and an FBI informant from a few months after he rejoined in 1944 until the trial. He had lived in Cleveland.

(l) Balmes Hidalgo, an FBI informant in the Party in New York from 1946 until the trial.

In the Dennis case there were disputes about who said what, and where, and the defendants called a number of Party members to testify that statements supposed to have been made by them or in their presence were not in fact made. A fair summary of the entire case, however, is that the proof rested very largely on the books and publications in evidence, since there was little dispute that most of them had been used by the Communist Party.

Administrative proceedings

1. Bridges v. Wixon, 326 U.S. 135 (1945)

The transcript of the Record in the Supreme Court is 7,817 pages long. An abstract of portions dealing with the Communist Party is in the file.

Some day some one will make a calculation as to what the Government has spent in efforts to get rid of Harry Renton Bridges. Thus far the efforts have not succeeded.

Bridges was born in Melbourne, Australia, in 1901. He entered the United States as a seaman in 1920. On March 2, 1938, a warrant was issued for his arrest and deportation, on the ground that he was a member of or affiliated with an organization that advocates overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States. A hearing was held before James M. Landis, trial examiner, who found that the evidence did not establish that Bridges was a member of nor affiliated with the Communist Party at the time of his arrest. The Secretary of Labor sustained the findings and dismissed the proceedings. This was in accordance with Kessler v. Strecker, 307 U.S. 22 (1939), another communist deportation case, in which the Court decided that only the date of arrest was critical as to membership or affiliation.

Congress amended the statute shortly thereafter to make membership or affiliation at any date cause for

deportation. There is legislative history to indicate that Bridges was the man Congress had in mind. Bridges was again arrested and a hearing was held before Charles B. Sears, a retired judge of the New York Court of Appeals, in the spring of 1941. This hearing resulted in a determination that the Communist Party advocates violent overthrow of the Government, that the Marine Workers' Industrial Union is a part of and is controlled by the Communist Party, that Bridges was a member of and affiliated with the Communist Party, and was affiliated with the Marine Workers' Industrial Union. The Board of Immigration Appeals reversed the findings that Bridges was a member of or affiliated with the organizations in question. Attorney General Biddle reinstated Trial Examiner Sears' findings and ordered Bridges deported. Bridges appealed from the denial of a writ of habeas corpus and eventually succeeded in escaping the deportation order when his case reached the Supreme Court. The Justice Department had improperly admitted evidence, the Court held, and had applied faulty construction of the statutory term "affiliated."

In 1945 Bridges was naturalized, and in the course of that proceeding swore that he was not a Communist. In 1949 he was indicted for the offense of conspiracy to obstruct the naturalization laws, and for false swearing in a naturalization case. He was convicted



and, in a companion proceeding, denaturalized. The Supreme Court reversed the convictions on the ground that the wartime statute suspending the Statute of Limitations did not apply to these offenses, and hence the statute had run when Bridges was indicted. Bridges v. United States, 346 U.S. 209 (1953). The denaturalization was likewise reversed. Bridges v. United States, 345 U.S. 979 (1953).

The portion of the proceeding that is of interest for this study is the administrative hearing before Judge Sears, not because of the testimony relating to Bridges but because of the evidence relating to the Communist Party.

The most highly placed ex-Communist to testify in the Bridges proceedings is Benjamin Gitlow, a member of the Party from its organization in 1919 until his expulsion in 1929. In 1924 and 1928 he was the Communist candidate for Vice-President of the United States. He had also served on the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Much of Gitlow's testimony relates to the Communist Party's labor policy. From 1921 to 1929 this consisted of an effort to bore from within existing unions. The "front" organization in this work was the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), affiliated with the Red International of Trade Unions. Gitlow also described

the International Labor Defense, another "front" organization affiliated with International Red Aid. Gitlow's testimony was supported by copies of minutes of the Political Committee of the Communist Party (later the National Board) which were introduced in evidence, but which, unfortunately, do not appear in the record.

R. 811-1097. If they are still in existence they would be a valuable source of historical data and should be microfilmed.

The testimony of Ezra Chase, a Communist Party member from 1931 to 1937 (except for one brief interval), is of interest because of his description of how Communists controlled the Upholsterers' Union to which he had belonged. Chase also testified that he had been Secretary in Los Angeles of the American League against War and Fascism, a Communist-controlled organization designed, he said, to paralyze American industry in the event of an "imperialist war." R. 1097-1146, 1237-1413.

Farrell Schnering, another government witness, testified at length about his activities in the International Labor Defense, of which he had been state secretary in Wisconsin. The ILD he described as the civil liberties organ of the Communist Party with interest in causes like the Scottsboro and Mooney cases. Attorneys, said Schnering, are only mouthpieces, and the Party tries its cases with the objective of pursuing

a "class struggle policy" in court. The ILD operated under the assumption that justice is unobtainable in capitalist courts, and specialized in producing evidence without reference to the facts.

Schnering also described the activities of the Trade Union Unity League, which succeeded the Trade Union Educational League in 1929, and chartered industrial unions. R. 1148-1236.

Howard Rushmore described the Party's revolutionary doctrines. He did not share the Party's views about overthrowing the Government when he became a member, and until he became associated with the Party's "big leagues" in New York believed that a peaceful transition to socialism would be possible. He left the Party, disillusioned with its policy of deceit and hypocrisy, in a row over his review of the movie, "Gone with the Wind" in the Daily Worker, R. 1421-1535.

Nat Honig was one of the more prominent of the ex-Communists who testified about his Party activity. R. 2064-2324. He had been Editor-in-Chief of Labor Unity, the magazine of the Trade Union Unity League. He had gone to Moscow in 1934 where he had served in collecting data for the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU), and had later served there as the American Party's official representative to RILU: R. 2067. RILU was the organization which coordinated labor activity for the Comintern in various countries.

After returning to the United States Honig wrote three books on union matters, one in collaboration with William Z. Foster, and all published by the Communist Party's Workers Library. All books published by Workers Library, said Honig, had to be approved and edited by someone else in the Party, often by a person unknown to the writer.

Honig testified that the Communist Party's objective is to secure a position in basic industries from which it can seize those industries. R. 2131. Honig said that during the last two years of his Party membership he had had doubts about the wisdom of the Party's policy of violent overthrow of the Government. Foster and Stachel (both defendants in the Dennis case, although Foster was not tried) told him violence might be unnecessary since it was possible that "the thing would fall in our laps." Honig left the Party in part because of disillusion over the Nazi-Soviet Pact.

John Oliver Thompson was a seaman who had been a member of the YCL and the Communist Party from 1929 to 1935. R. 2529-2561. He described his attendance at two Party schools in New York where he was taught how to organize seamen in the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and about techniques for putting sand in the bearings of ships and drawing the glycerine from their steering apparatus in the event of war. Students were

instructed to establish a nucleus in the Army and Navy to facilitate overthrow of the Government.

Government witness William C. McCuistion had been a Communist Party member intermittently from 1922 to 1935. R. 2562-2880. He described the organization of the Marine Workers Industrial Union at a convention called by the Marine Workers League and the Trade Union Unity League in 1930. The Marine Workers League was the American section of the International Seamen's Clubs and International Seamen and Harbor Workers, affiliated with TUUL. The MWIU was formed because the Communist Party decided that an industrial union was necessary to counteract the AFL. MWIU dissolved in 1935 on orders which came from the Red International of Labor Unions transmitted through the Party's Political Bureau. Copious quotations from the MWIU's organ, the Waterfront Worker, appear in the record, and show a pro-Soviet and revolutionary line.

Bridges v. Wixon is the most informative source of information we have yet consulted about the communist influence in labor union activity. Yet it is apparent that it touches only a small area of this activity. One weakness of the testimony is that the defense did not attempt to dispute the Government's contentions with reference to the Communist Party, but contented itself with showing that Bridges was not a member.

The judicial saga of Harry Bridges may not yet be over. In announcing the Supreme Court's most recent decision, the New York Times for June 16, 1953 reported: "Unofficial indications were given . . . /by the Department of Justice/ that the Government did not intend to abandon its efforts to deport Bridges." P. 1, col.2; p. 21, col. 5.

2. Brownell v. Communist Party, report of the Subversive Activities Control Board, published as Senate Document No. 41, 83 Cong., 1st Sess. (1953)

This is the opinion of the Board in the decision ordering the Communist Party to register as a "Communist-action" organization under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. The crux of the inquiry is Russian control of the Communist Party in the United States. The opinion, 138 pages long, contains conclusions drawn from a transcript of 14,911 pages. One section traces the development of the Communist Party and its affiliation with the Communist International. The Board concludes that the Party's disaffiliation in 1940, and the dissolution of the International in 1943, have not really changed the situation. There is some evidence

that the Communist Information Bureau, founded in Poland in 1947, is serving the same purpose, even though the Party in the United States is not formally affiliated.

The Board also summarizes the dissolution of the Party in 1944 and its reconstitution in 1945, with an intervening existence as the Communist Political Association. The Board concludes that the Party is striving to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat by illegal and revolutionary means.

One section is devoted to showing that the policies of the Party in the United States never differ with the policies of Soviet Russia, a factor showing foreign control. The practice of sending emissaries to Russia from the Party, and of Soviet representatives coming to the United States for Party purposes is also discussed.

A long report on secret and deceptive party practices is included. This includes use of Aesopian language, use of party names, perjured testimony, underground meetings, and infiltration of other organizations.

It is interesting to note that of the twenty-two Government witnesses who appeared before the Subversive Activities Control Board nineteen were ex-Communists, or FBI representatives who had penetrated party organizations. Nine of these had previously testified at the Bridges hearing or in the Dennis case. The other three Government witnesses were Dr. Philip Mosely of Columbia

University's Russian Institute, the clerk of the House Committee on Un-American Activities who authenticated documents from Committee files, and a Russian translator for the State Department.

Legislative proceedings: abstract of two recent Committee

Reports

1. "Subversive Influence in the Educational Process" - Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Hearings and Report, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. 1953

The Senate Internal Security subcommittee, on the basis of an examination of more than 100 witnesses in public session and a large but unspecified number of witnesses in executive session, reports evidence that the Soviet organization is trying to penetrate educational institutions "at every possible point."

Many of the hearings are rather barren of information because most of the witnesses selected for public hearings were those who had refused in executive session to testify about their Communist affiliations. They persisted in this refusal in the open hearings. Eighty-two witnesses invoked the Fifth Amendment, forty of whom were faculty members of sixteen different



universities. A table listing these witnesses is appended to the report, and identifies their institutional connections and positions. Some of those invoking the Fifth Amendment stated they were not presently Communists but refused to state whether they had been members prior to a certain date.

The principal testimony about the number of communist teachers came from Dr. Bella V. Dodd, former teacher at Hunter College from 1926 to 1938, and now a practicing lawyer in New York City. Hearings, p. 511. Dr. Dodd had been a member or closely associated with the Communist Party from 1935 to 1948. She had served as a member of its National Committee. Dr. Dodd testified that up to 1948 the peak Communist Party membership among school teachers and college professors was 1,500 members. According to Dr. Dodd, 1,000 communist members controlled 11,000 members of the New York Teachers' Union. This would leave only about 500 communist teachers outside New York. This deduction is to some extent confirmed by Dr. Dodd's testimony that while California and Chicago had some communist teachers, the large numbers were in the East. Dr. Dodd gave her estimate of Party membership in the United States as never exceeding 75,000, although at least a million people in the United States, she said, had been "either in or out of the party." [sic] Hearings, p. 527.

Several witnesses testified about how the communist teacher works for communism. Dr. Dodd testified that communist teachers work for their cause both in and out of the classroom. In classes, communism can be injected into almost any course. In teaching Milton, for example, an English teacher would connect him with the class struggle. Which class was rising in Milton's time? Which class was going down?

Professor William Withers, Chairman of the Committee on Contemporary Civilization at Queens College, testified that Communists try to get control of both students and faculties. Hearings, pp. 456, 458. The most important activity is outside the classroom, where the communist teacher strives to appear as a popular and courageous person, constantly fighting for what is idealistic. Such a teacher gathers around him a coterie of students who are gradually educated into the Party. Hearings, p. 460.

Richard E. Combs, Chief Counsel for the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities testified in April, 1953, that three or four students recruited a year by a communist teacher is regarded as a success. Hearings, p. 614. He said there were only one or two examples of communist teaching discovered at the state institutions of higher learning in California, although the program there of hiring intelligence operatives on

the campuses had in the last year caused the removal of about 100 presumed Communists from California faculties. Hearings, p. 607.

The net impression from these hearings is that no grave threat to communize the country has been disclosed, either by reason of the number of communist teachers, or by reason of the success of their activities. Another impression is that the intelligence work in preparation for the subcommittee's work was thorough, and that the Committee is making an effort to be fair.

2. Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, Report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (July 30, 1953)

This report, fifty pages long, contains a summary of communist penetration of the Government. It opens with a portion of a secret memorandum, prepared November 25, 1945, by an unspecified intelligence agency of the Government. The report says that the secret memorandum was circulated among several key Government agencies and was made available to the President of the United States. The quoted portion of the memorandum refers to

Whittaker Chambers' statements about Alger Hiss, although what Chambers had said about Hiss is not made clear.

The memorandum is based largely on the information supplied by Elizabeth Bentley, who reported that the head of the most important espionage group in Government was Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, former employee of the Department of Labor and at that time with the Treasury. The next most important group was headed by Victor Perlo of the War Production Board. The memorandum lists a number of persons whom Miss Bentley stated to be connected with Soviet intelligence activities.

The memorandum says that the Silvermaster case first came to the attention of the FBI on November 8, 1945, when Miss Bentley came into the New York office of the Bureau and stated that for the past eleven years she had been actively engaged in communist activity and Soviet espionage. Parenthetically, it may be noted that Miss Bentley in the Rosenberg case testified that she first went to the FBI in the latter part of August, 1945, at New Haven, Connecticut. Rosenberg v. United States, 195 F. 2d 583, cert. den. 344 U.S. 838 (1952), Record, p. 996.

The subcommittee report also quotes Miss Bentley's testimony of May 29, 1952, that only two of four Soviet rings in the Government have been exposed, and she assumed they were still operating. She did not know who the members are. Report, p. 3.

The report lists a number of Government Departments and agencies which had communist employees in high positions. Alger Hiss' prominence in the State Department, and efforts to secure a more strategic position are described in the report. This portion of the report is based on the testimony of J. Anthony Panuch, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in charge of security. Report, p. 9.

Miss Bentley and Whittaker Chambers have stated, and the reporting Committee finds, that in the Treasury Department there were a number of employees including Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary, who were participants in the communist conspiracy. White was designated in 1941 to represent the Treasury in all matters bearing on foreign relations. Report, p. 29.

The report's section dealing with communist influence on Capitol Hill is based very largely on an article which Senator La Follette wrote in 1947 in Collier's magazine. Nine witnesses once attached to congressional committees claimed their privilege against self-incrimination when called by the subcommittee to testify. These included John Abt, chief counsel to Senator La Follette's civil liberties subcommittee; Charles Flato, its public relations officer; and Henry Collins, described as director of the Senate Small Business Committee and coordinator of field hearings for the House Committee on Interstate Migration. Report, p. 34.

The report cites a number of former defense personnel who claimed the privilege against self-incrimination when called as witnesses. Report, pp. 35-36, 37-40. It also names two admitted Communists or ex-Communists in the atomic energy program. Report, p. 36.

Edwin S. Smith, identified by Louis Budenz as a Communist, was a member of the National Labor Relations Board. Nathan Witt, as Secretary of the Board, also occupied a position of large influence. Report, pp. 40-43. Witt was identified by both Whittaker Chambers and Nathaniel Weyl as a Communist. He invoked the privilege against self-incrimination when called as a witness.

One of the persons discussed in this report as most recently dismissed from a position of influence was Virginius Frank Coe. He had worked for the federal government in a number of capacities since 1934, including that of Director of the Monetary Research Division of the Treasury, Executive Secretary of the Joint War Production Committee of the United States and Canada, and Assistant Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration. He was Secretary of the International Monetary Fund, a United Nations Agency, in December, 1952, when subpoenaed by the subcommittee. He invoked the privilege against self-incrimination when asked if he was a Communist, or if he was a member of a Soviet espionage ring. Report, p. 8.

The report presents an impressive picture of a significant number of Communists or presumed Communists who have occupied important positions which they could use either for espionage activities against the Government or to influence public policies. It has not been possible here to do more than touch its high points. Nor has it been possible to undertake any evaluation of the Committee's conclusions.

What the Public Record shows about communism  
in the United States

At the outset of this preliminary survey of the public record of communism a number of "target questions" about communism in the United States were formulated. Those are --

- A. When did communism originate in the United States?
- B. What is the Communist Party's corporate organization?
- C. What are the Party's objectives?
- D. Is the Party controlled by Russia, and if so, in how much detail?

- E. What sort of recruits does the Party get and what motivates them to join? Misery and slum life, etc.? Or intellectual processes based on some maladjustment of personality?
- F. What success has communism had in the United States?
- 1) In recruiting members and maintaining membership?
  - 2) In acquiring funds?
  - 3) In promoting espionage and sabotage?
  - 4) In influencing public opinion in favor of Russian policy?
  - 5) In manipulating government policy by operating directly on a policy-making level?
    - a) Why the territorial line established between Eastern and Western Zones in Germany?
    - b) What of Chinese policy?
    - c) Yalta?
    - d) Withdrawal from Korea?
    - e) Saturation bombing of Dresden?
- G. Does the Communist Party advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?
- H. Is the reason for popular resentment against the Party the use of ordinarily legitimate means for an illegitimate end?



- I. Is political activity, otherwise legitimate, rendered illegitimate because it is in the interest of a foreign power hostile to the United States?
- J. What are the reasons for the popular resentment against the Communist Party?
- K. Does activity of the Communist Party in the United States provide a reliable clue by which to forecast future moves of the Soviet Union?

In this part of the present Report, the data obtained from the examination of the Record is grouped under the "target questions" which we formulated.

A. When did communism originate in the United States?

An answer to this question may be either quite simple or very complex, depending on how "communism" is defined. The predecessors of the present Communist Party of the United States of America were organized in 1919. A fairly complete description of the beginnings of one of the progenitors of the present Communist Party is found in the report of People v. Lloyd, 304 Ill. 23, 136 N.E. 505 (1922). This case affirms the conviction of twenty delegates to the Communist Labor Party's organizing convention which met in Chicago on September 1, 1919, after a split in the Socialist Party's convention which had met the preceding day.

Their crime was conspiracy to advocate the reformation or overthrow of representative government by violence or unlawful means. The ground work had been laid a few months earlier at a Socialist Left Wing Conference in New York City, June 21 to 24. The earlier meeting had resulted in the publication of the "Left Wing Manifesto" in a publication called "Revolutionary Age," edited by Benjamin Gitlow. This earned Gitlow his claimed distinction of being the first communist prisoner in Sing Sing prison after his conviction for violation of New York's criminal anarchy statute. Gitlow v. New York, 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

Contemporaneously with the founding of the Communist Labor Party, another organization which later merged into the present Communist Party after a series of mergers and splits was also founded in Chicago, calling itself the Communist Party of America. Its Constitution and "Manifesto," as well as the Communist Labor Party's initial platform and program are reproduced in "Organized Communism in the United States," released August 19, 1953, by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 83d Cong., 1st Sess., page 29 and page 42.

These organizational beginnings of the present Communist Party are by no means the beginning of American communism. The five "puny anonymities" convicted in the famous Abrams case of violating the

Espionage Act of 1917 had been distributing literature in August, 1918, calling on socialists, anarchists, Industrial Workers of the World and "other revolutionary organizations" to "save the Workers' Republic of Russia." Abrams v. United States, 250 U.S. 616 (1919).

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, in 1917, merely added impetus and a directing force to a segment of the radical movements that had existed in the United States for decades. When "communism" is defined without reference to party organization, the problem of tracing its origins becomes a very difficult one, and depends to a considerable extent on the uncertainties of definition. There is no doubt that the Socialist Party, organized many years earlier, had had important doctrinal roots in the writings of Marx and Engels, and some of the adherents of the communist parties organized in 1919 regarded their communism as a continuation of their earlier socialist activities. Charles E. Ruthenberg, one of the early leaders of the Communist Party, reported in a Party questionnaire in 1922 that he had been ten years in the Socialist Party and three years in the Communist Party. To the question, "How long have you been active in the revolutionary movement?" he answered, "13 years." Record, People v. Ruthenberg, p. 49, 229 Mich. 315, 201 N.W. 358 (1925), appeal dismissed 273 U.S. 782 (1927). The communist claim is that about one-

third of the Socialist Party became members of the Communist Party. Id., p. 118. (Testimony of Ruthenberg.)

William Z. Foster, present chairman of the Communist Party and three times communist candidate for President, gives 1852 as the date of organization of the first definitely Marxist organization on American soil. This was the Proletarian League, founded in New York.

History of the Communist Party, p. 29 (1952). The Lusk Committee quotes Socialist Morris Hillquit that "The first strictly Marxian organization of strength and influence on American soil" was the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiter Verein, formed in New York in 1868. 1 Revolutionary Radicalism 505, being the Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, filed April 24, 1920, in the Senate of New York. There was, during the latter part of the Nineteenth Century and first two decades of the Twentieth Century, a proliferation of organizations and movements which to some extent were influenced or prompted by doctrines of Marx and Engels. It is of interest that the last convention of the First International, founded by Marx, met in Philadelphia in 1876. Id. 507. The history of communism as a movement, as distinguished from the present Party organization, should trace these beginnings, even though communism did not attain its present significance until the Russian Revolution. The Third International in the manifesto "to the proletariat of all lands"

issued at its founding in 1919 proclaimed itself the successor of the heritage of Marx and Engels and the "Communist Party of the World" which had announced its program in the Communist Manifesto in 1848. Id. 476, (Translation by Ida Ferguson).

B. What are the Communist Party's objectives?

This question must be considered from the standpoint of both immediate and ultimate objectives. Of these only the latter are significant in shaping the Party's over-all program, and determining its method. The Constitution of the Communist Party of America, adopted at the Joint Unity Convention of the United Communist Party and the Communist Party of America, 1921, contained this statement of purpose:

"The Communist Party of America is the vanguard of the working class, namely, its most advanced, class conscious and therefore its most revolutionary part. Its purpose is to educate, direct and lead the working class of America for the conquest of political power; to destroy the bourgeois state machinery; to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviet power; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the communist society." Organized Communism in the United States, Report by House Committee on Un-American Activities, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (Aug. 19, 1953), p. 62.

No such direct statement of purpose from any similarly official source is found in Communist Party documents today. William Schneiderman, a highly placed Communist Party official since convicted of conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the Government, testified in 1939 in a proceeding attempting his denaturalization that the Communist Party's Constitution of May, 1938, was the only written constitution it ever adopted as the official expression of its program, and that all earlier writings were "contributions to discussion or study." Schneiderman v. United States, 320 U.S. 118 (1943), Record, pp. 364-365.

The Party's Constitution of 1938, which Schneiderman attached to his answer in the denaturalization proceeding, had become at once wordier and more vague in its announcement of purpose. The preamble, after invoking the traditions of "Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence," called for "establishing common ownership of the national economy, through a government of the people, by the people, and for the people . . . by the establishment of Socialism, according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, embodied in the Communist International. . . ." Organized Communism in the United States, 83d Cong., Aug. 19, 1953, p. 99.

The Constitution of 1945 is in similar vein. Its preamble begins with the announcement that "The Communist

Party of the United States is the political party of the working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism." The statement of purposes in Article II calls for promoting the welfare of the working class and extending democracy through the realization of the historic aim of the working class -- "the establishment of Socialism by the free choice of the majority of the American people." Id., p. 122-123.

Louis F. Budenz in Dennis v. United States, the first prosecution of communist leaders under the Smith Act, for conspiracy to advocate violent overthrow of the Government, testified that the first sentence of the preamble to the 1945 Constitution is Aesopian language understood "throughout the Communist movement" to mean that "socialism can only be attained by the violent shattering of the capitalist state, and the setting up of a dictatorship of the proletariat by force and violence in place of that state." Record, pp. 3638-3639. Budenz had been a member of the Communist Party for ten years from 1935 to 1945 and at the time he left the Party in October, 1945, he was editor of the Daily Worker. His term, "Aesopian language," is taken from Lenin's introduction to his Imperialism, in which Lenin explained that he had written the book in Zurich in 1916, with an eye to Czarist censorship. This censorship, wrote Lenin, had forced him to write in "that

Aesopian language to which Czarism compelled all revolutionaries to have recourse whenever they took up their pens to write a 'legal' work." Record, p. 3646, quoting Lenin's Imperialism.

In a book written since the trial Budenz says that prior to his testimony no one had ever stressed or even mentioned Aesopian language. Men Without Faces, p. 8, 1948. Budenz' interpretation was one of the hotly contested issues of the trial. However, the Government thoroughly documented its case with Marxist writings and Communist Party publications which show that none of the objectives has been abandoned, despite language in the 1945 Constitution that the Party "defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and popular liberties." Record, p. 3647.

No effort has been made by responsible members of the Communist Party to deny that the dictatorship of the proletariat remains a goal of the Communist Party, albeit an intermediate one, on the road to achieving a communist society. It is, of course, a term of art in the communist vocabulary, and its definition may be the subject of controversy. Stalin, in his Problems of Leninism, a standard communist text, defines it this way, quoting from Lenin:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat . . . is  
a special form of class alliance between the



proletariat, the vanguard of the toilers, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of toilers; . . . it is an alliance against capital, an alliance aiming at the complete overthrow of capital, at the complete suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and of any attempt on their part at restoration, an alliance aiming at the final establishment and consolidation of socialism."

Dennis v. United States, Record, p. 14977.

A defendant in Dennis v. United States, Gilbert Green, a leading official of the Communist Party, described the dictatorship of the proletariat in his testimony as the second stage of the proletarian revolution. The first is the assumption of governmental power. "After that there is a second stage which is the smashing of the bureaucratic old state machine and its replacement with a new one, namely, what is scientifically called the dictatorship of the proletariat." Record, p. 8019. Semantic difficulties soon become apparent. Green quoted Lenin's assertion that the dictatorship of the proletariat "is the most democratic state organization of all possible state organizations while classes continue to exist." Record, p. 8026. A little later he explained that the Soviet Union is "the highest expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Record, p. 8028.

Statement of the Communist Party's immediate objectives is found in Party platforms, resolutions, and other publications. These change a great deal from time to time. A fair example is the platform on which Robert Thompson and Benjamin Davis, defendants in the Dennis case, ran for comptroller and Attorney general of New York, respectively, in 1946. In foreign policy this platform called for restoration of "big three" unity, getting American troops out of China, backing independence movements in India, Indonesia and Korea, setting Puerto Rico free, continuing UNRRA. On the domestic scene it called for passage of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill "with proper amendments, particularly to end discrimination," and seizure by the government under emergency powers of all available materials in order to build veterans' housing. The program included health insurance, increased minimum wage standards, extension of unemployment insurance, and an end to "taxes on the worker's pay envelope." Also favored were FEPC legislation, anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills, as well as an end to the "Wood-Rankin witch-hunt committee." There was a demand for nationalization of basic industries, and guaranteed annual income for family size farmers. The state program included maintenance of the 5¢ subway fare. Dennis v. United States, Record, p. 15537 (Defendants' Exhibit 10 x H, entitled "The Communist Party Program for Peace, Democracy, and Progress").

Many of these immediate aims are no more radical than the programs of many American political parties that operated before the Russian Revolution gave birth to the Communist Party. The Communist Party, however, views political reforms not as a goal in themselves, but as a means of achieving "socialism." Communist political campaigns appear to be conducted without any serious regard for the ballot box.

William Z. Foster in his acceptance speech as Communist Party nominee for President in 1928 explained the Party's purpose in the election as an educational campaign to teach workers they must "shatter the capitalist state." Foster went on to say:

No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a national election, could, even if he would, become president of the present government. When a Communist heads a government in the United States -- and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises -- that government will not be a capitalistic government but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Dennis v. United States, Record, p. 11610.

Foster in his deposition in the Dennis case repudiated this position as "basically incorrect." Id. p. 11656. The Party's position that socialism cannot come

by the electoral process, has, however, probably not changed. A study outline which the Communist Party used in Illinois in 1947 lists "Anti-Marxist theories of the State in relation to Socialism," and first among these theories which are condemned is this:

"1. Social-Democratic approach that socialism can be achieved without prior conquest of political power by the working class -- that socialism can gradually evolve out of capitalism -- that socialism can be 'voted' in."

Dennis v. United States, Record, pp. 14823, 14849. (Cf. p. 7969 for a statement by defendant Green as to the use of this study outline from 1945 to 1948.)

Effective reforms which actually result in a better functioning of political and economic machinery in non-communist countries would defeat the Communists' revolutionary goals. This was recognized in Olgin's text, Why Communism, which the Party in the United States at one time used widely:

"The Communist Party . . . nominates its candidates for federal and local offices and it solicits votes. It is anxious to have its representatives in the legislative bodies. But its election campaigns and its activities within parliament are fundamentally different from those of, say, the Socialist Party.

We Communists are not here to help the capitalists govern the masses. We Communists are here to help the masses press their masters, get from the capitalists and their government a maximum of concessions . . . We go to the law-making institutions, not to tinker them up for the benefit of the capitalists, but to be a monkey wrench in their machinery, preventing it from working smoothly on behalf of the masters. . . ." Dennis v. United States, Record, p. 14546.

C. What is the Communist Party's corporate organization?

A picture of the Communist Party's organization is contained in Party constitutions from 1919 to 1945 which are printed in the House Un-American Activities Committee's Organized Communism in the United States, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (1953). Unfortunately, we have not yet secured access to the Party's Constitution of 1948, referred to in the report of Brownell v. Communist Party, p. 40 (Senate Doc. 41, 83d Cong., 1st Sess.).

The pattern of organization during the period covered by these constitutions has not varied significantly, except in nomenclature. The following description, except where otherwise indicated, is based on the 1945 Constitution.

The National Convention is the highest authority, and meets theoretically every two years, with provision for more frequent meetings at the call of the National Committee or State Committees. Its delegates are elected by State and District Conventions. Between National Conventions the National Committee, elected by the National Convention, exercises authority. The executive body which executes policies and makes decisions between meetings of the National Committee is a smaller body called the National Board. The latter was earlier known as the Political Committee, "Polcom" or "Polburo."

A National Review Commission, elected by the National Convention, and consisting of "tested members with exemplary records" maintains discipline, guards against violation of Party principles, and supervises audits of financial books and records.

Subordinate in the organizational hierarchy is the District or State organization governed by a convention, District or State board in the same manner as the national organization. The District may embrace more than one state, or may be smaller than a state in territory. Beneath the State or District organization there may be Region, County and Section organizations, although each of these levels need not be represented. See By-Laws of the Communist Party of New York, 1945, Dennis v. United States, Record, p. 14805.

At the lowest level is the Club, organized on either a community basis with members from the same neighborhood, or a shop basis with members from the same shop. These are required to meet at least twice a month. There is no provision for industrial clubs in the 1945 Constitution like that which existed in the 1938 Constitution. Nor is there any provision in later Constitutions for "Language Federations" -- i.e. groups of 250 speaking the same language -- like that found in the 1921 Constitution. The 1925 Constitution of the Workers (Communist) Party required members of language branches to join other units of the Party, although they were to continue active work with members of their language groups. Organized Communism, pp. 80, 86. A comprehensive organization chart based on the 1945 Constitution and other documents received in evidence in Dennis v. United States appears at the conclusion of the Government's brief before the Supreme Court.

The organization prescribed by the Constitution, however, does not give a complete picture. Herbert Philbrick, who joined the Communist Party as an FBI representative in the Boston area, testified in the Dennis case that he belonged to a professional group which took its membership from the entire area and for security reasons was organized independently of the normal Party hierarchy. Record, p. 4148 ff. Elizabeth Bentley

has described her work as a courier in espionage activity for which, as is customary, she was detached from all normal Communist Party organizations and functions. Rosenberg v. United States, Record, filed with petition for certiorari, p. 970.

Perhaps the most significant fact about Communist Party organization is that ordinary members, although insulated from the decision-making bodies by several intervening bodies, are "duty-bound" to carry out Party decisions. The 1945 Constitution gives members the "unrestricted right and duty" to discuss Party policies and tactics during the preconvention period. The right, by implication, would seem to be limited to this period. This is a part of the basic organizational principle termed "democratic centralism," which in operation has enabled the Party to maintain its monolithic character and undeviating control throughout its membership. See Brownell v. Communist Party, pp. 56-59.

D. Is the Communist Party controlled by Russia?

The evidence that Russia controls all major policy decisions of the Communist Party is overwhelming. The finding of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the Communist Party, USA, is a "Communist-Action organization" within the meaning of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 is based on this conclusion.



Perhaps the most impressive evidence to support this conclusion is contained in the testimony of Dr. Philip E. Mosely, Director of Columbia University's Russian Institute. Mosely showed that on some 45 international questions of major importance, over a period of 30 years, the position of the Communist Party of the United States showed no significant difference from that of Soviet Russia. Brownell v. Communist Party, pp. 79-86. Such complete agreement would suggest that either the Russian position determined that of the Party in the United States, or that the Party in the United States determined the Russian position. Since the latter possibility is preposterous, the conclusion that the Russians have control is unavoidable.

The means by which the Russians have maintained this control are of interest. More is known about the mechanics of control in the Party's earlier period than is known about current practice. Almost from its inception in the United States the Communist Party was a member of the Communist or Third International (Comintern) organized in Moscow, in 1919, and with headquarters maintained there.

Much information about the International during the first ten years of its existence is contained in the testimony of Benjamin Gitlow, who testified for the Government in Bridges v. Wixon, 326 U.S. 135 (1945).

Gitlow was a member of the Executive of the International before he was expelled from the Party in 1929, as well as an important Party official in the United States. Decisions of the International, said Gitlow, bound every Communist Party in the world except Russia's.. Record, p. 815. Strategic control by the Russian Party was aided by the requirement that all delegations except the Russian had to be uninstructed. Record, p. 849. The International approved all appointments and changes in the Party organization in the United States. It also sent its representatives to the United States to adjudicate disputes and determine policy. Record, p. 846. Instructions to the United States came by letter, by messenger, and by cables, both plain and coded. Record, p. 887. The International was a source of financial support to the American Party, as when it sent \$50,000 to the United States to defeat John L. Lewis as president of the United Mine Workers. Record, p. 923. Gitlow also described in some detail the session of the International in 1929 when those representing the majority of the Communist Party in the United States were expelled for refusing to accept Stalin's decision on Party organization for their own country. Record, p.982.

Confirmation of Gitlow's version of this episode is found in Foster's History of the Communist Party of the United States (1952) where he describes how Lovestone and Gitlow managed to take only a couple of

hundred members out of the Party with them after their return to the United States, although their group, Foster said, had commanded a majority of the delegates at the National Convention held prior to the trek of the communist leaders to Moscow where Stalin decided the dispute. Pp. 273-275.

The Communist Party in the United States purported to sever its affiliations with the International in 1940 to avoid registration as a foreign agent under the Voorhis Act. In 1943, Stalin announced the dissolution of the International as a gesture of unity against fascism. Events since, however, have shown that the American Party has developed no more independence of action than it had before.

The most significant Party phenomenon since the dissolution of the International has been the almost solid unanimity with which the Communist Party dissolved itself in 1944 to form the Communist Political Association, and then in 1945 with equal unanimity reconstituted the Communist Party. The story, documented except for one detail, by Party resolutions and publications, was told by Louis Budenz in the Dennis case.

The dissolution, which took place in May, 1944, purported to be dictated by considerations of maintaining international unity in the post-war world. Following

the dissolution, the Communist Political Association devoted its efforts to publicizing Browder's policy of praising the policies established at the Teheran conference of the "big three," and played down at least to some extent Marxist-Leninist works. It nominated no presidential candidate, but supported President Roosevelt for reelection in the 1944 campaign.

At the 1945 San Francisco organization conference of the United Nations, D. Z. Manuilsky was the delegate from the Ukraine. Manuilsky informed Joseph Starobin, covering the conference for the Daily Worker, that the American Party's failure to criticize American officials was unsatisfactory, and that the French comrades had been delegated the task of putting the Party in the United States on the right track. This information Starobin wrote to the Daily Worker editorial board, attention of Budenz, then the editor. Budenz had read only a part of this letter before Jacob Stachel, defendant in the Dennis case, walked into his office and snatched it away.

Predictions in the letter shortly began to come to pass, with the arrival of the April issue of the French publication Cahiers du Communisme, containing an article by Jacques Duclos, criticizing the Browder policy of "revisionism." Curiously, the article contained a letter of protest by William Z. Foster who had

originally opposed the Browder policy in the National Committee. The Committee had persuaded Foster to suppress his letter, and its existence was almost unknown in the United States outside the National Committee.

The Duclos article touched off a sequence of intense activity in the summer of 1945 which included not only two national conventions but state and district conventions to approve proposals to dissolve the newly-born Communist Political Association and to reconstitute the Communist Party. A program was adopted calling for intensification of educational activity, and intensification of study of the Marxist-Leninist "classics." Earl Browder, substantially the only supporter of the policies unanimously adopted a year earlier, fell from favor and was later expelled from the Party. Dennis v. United States, Record, pp. 3475-3636.

The only undocumented detail of Budenz' testimony relates to the part Budenz said was played by Manuilsky and Starobin. Starobin, called as a defense witness in the Dennis case, flatly denied having written the Daily Worker as Budenz reported, or having had any communication from Manuilsky. Record, 10430-10520. The Budenz version of the story has been accepted, however, by the Subversive Activities Control Board. Brownell v. Communist Party, p. 16.

In any event, the details of how notice of the authoritative character of the Duclos article reached

American Communist Party leaders are unimportant. The agreed facts about the episode make it impossible to believe that the all but unanimous double reversals of policy in 1944 and 1945 could occur in the absence of authoritative direction from outside the Communist Party of the United States.

In 1947 another international organization to unify world communism was set up, known as the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform). Georgi M. Malenkov, the present leader of Russia, addressed the initial meeting held in Poland. The Party in the United States has not publicly and formally affiliated with this organization, but its official organ, For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy, has been used in Party schools. Brownell v. Communist Party, pp. 17-19.

E. What sort of recruits does the Party get and what motivates them to join?

A satisfactory answer to this question has not been found in the material thus far examined. There is evidence in the Ruthenberg record that in 1919 at least 90 per cent of the communist parties' membership was from foreign language groups. Record, 177-178, containing article by Ruthenberg from July, 1922, Communist.

Today the Party's recruiting objectives are aimed primarily at industrial workers in basic or key industries.

A great deal of the recruiting activity, as well as Party propaganda, is directed toward Negroes. See "Plan for Building the Press and the Party," issued August 15, 1946, by the National Organization Department, and appearing as Government's Exhibit 119 in Dennis v. United States. Record, pp. 14897, 14904-14908.

Other information about the Communist Party's appeal to particular persons is too fragmentary at this point to be very helpful. On the one hand, we find explanations like that by Charles Nicodemus, who joined the Party in 1937 when someone explained to him that it was an organization "that would strengthen the union and that would learn me to handle grievances and other problems of the union by myself instead of consulting somebody." Dennis v. United States, Record, p. 4785. On the other hand we find those like Daniel Boone Schirmer, graduate of Harvard College, who started reading Lenin's Imperialism while still in high school or grade school. Id. pp. 8718-8719. The judgment of President Harry D. Gideonse of Brooklyn College, based on observation of communism among students at his institution, is that Communists tend to come either from under-privileged or over-privileged homes. The former become communists in protest, the latter from a sense of guilt. Hearings before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Subversive Influence in the Educational Process, p. 579. 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (1953).

F. What success has the Communist Party had?

This question must be answered with reference to particular goals. In 34 years of effort the Party has not even approached its major goal of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States but it is still trying. With reference to subsidiary goals, it has been successful in varying degrees. Appraisal of its success is a peculiarly difficult task.

1. Membership. The Communist Party has never made an impressive showing in terms of numbers of members. William Z. Foster claims that the highpoint of memberships was in 1944, when the Party had some 80,000 members, including the 15,000 whose memberships had been discontinued while they were in the armed services. The recruiting campaign of that year, he says, brought in 24,000 new members, about 30 per cent of whom were Negroes, but membership turnover was heavy. Thirty-three thousand members had then been in the Party less than a year. In 1946, Foster says, there were 52,824 members, and in 1947, 59,172 members. Foster, History of the Communist Party of the United States, p. 421.

In 1950, J. Edgar Hoover was quoted by an unidentified member of a Senate appropriations subcommittee as telling an executive session of the subcommittee that there were 54,000 card-holding members of the Party in



the United States and roughly ten times that number of follow travellers or Communist sympathizers. New York Times, Feb. 8, 1950, p. 1, col. 3. Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, estimates there are now about 25,000 Communists in the United States, although 75,000 former Communists are "subject to the propaganda of the Communist agents." United States News and World Report, September 4, 1953, p. 40.

Membership figures, as such, may not be particularly meaningful. Thus, in 1934, the Party claimed 24,500 dues-paying members. At the same time, it claimed 500,000 individual supporters in "mass organizations" under its control. Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party, April, 1934, printed in Earl Browder, Communism in the United States (1935), p. 21 at 66, 74.

2. Fund raising. Information about the Party's success in raising money has thus far not been discovered. The fact that Party activities until 1940 were rather heavily subsidized by Moscow suggests that at least in that period the Party was not self-supporting. See Brownell v. Communist Party, pp. 86-89. The Subversive Activities Control Board reports that its record shows only one example of a subsidy since 1940 -- free plates for printing The Selected Works of Lenin furnished by

Moscow in 1949 to International Publishers, which puts out much Communist material.

Dues payments by Communists are apparently high. The Party By-laws in 1938 list this schedule of dues for members:

- a. Housewives, unemployed and all members earning up to \$47.00 a month, shall pay 10 cents a month.
- b. All members earning from \$47.01 to \$80 a month inclusive, shall pay 25 cents a month.
- c. All members earning from \$80.01 to \$112.00 a month inclusive, shall pay 50 cents a month.
- d. All members earning from \$112.01 to \$160.00 a month inclusive, shall pay \$1.00 a month.
- e. Members earning more than \$160.00 per month shall pay, besides the regular \$1.00 dues, additional dues at the rate of 50 cents for each additional \$10.00 or fraction, thereof.

3. Espionage. Several convictions for espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union have taken place within recent years. The testimony of Elizabeth Bentley in the Rosenberg case, already referred to, indicates that the regular Party machinery is not used for this purpose, but that the Party does serve as a source for recruits. There is testimony in the Dennis case, however, by Charles W. Nicodemus, who served as an informant for the FBI within the Party, that Party members working in the Celanese plant at Cumberland, Maryland, were directed to furnish a party organizer with maps of the plant lay-out. Record, p. 4791. The jury was later

told to disregard this testimony because no adequate connection between this event and the defendants on trial had been shown. Id., p. 4801.

4. Manipulation of public opinion to favor Russia.

This no doubt is a communist objective. There is also no doubt that even with the greatest skill in the arts of persuasion, the Communist Party would be fighting an uphill battle to make Soviet Russia popular. Except for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's investigation of subversive influences in education, the portion of the Record we have thus far examined has not been concerned with concealed communist propaganda. One witness before the Internal Security Subcommittee described the contents of an "in-service" training course for teachers of New York City in 1947 which contained pro-Russian propaganda. Speakers had praised the Soviet minorities policy and films had been shown describing how Russia wiped out prejudice against Jews. The chairman in charge of this course, and at least two of the speakers, as well as those associated with the production of films that were shown, invoked the Fifth Amendment before the Subcommittee to avoid answering questions about their Communist Party affiliations. The net impression is that some Soviet propaganda, but of a fairly pallid sort, was injected into the teachers'

training program in question. Testimony of Anne Melson Stommel, Hearings before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Subversive Influence in the Educational Process, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (1953), p. 841.

5. Manipulation of policy at governmental level.

This is one of the most difficult subjects on which to get information. A large part of the problem is the difficulty of determining the actual source from which major policy decisions in the executive department of the Government originate. Another aspect of the problem is the often controversial decision as to whether a given policy decided upon in fact favored the Soviet Union as against the best interests of the United States. The distinction between hindsight and foresight, which is always difficult, adds further complications.

The recent report of the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, contains many instances of Communists or presumed Communists who have occupied jobs with important policy making functions, but in only a few instances is there specific information about how this influence was exercised. The Report gives Miss Bentley's testimony that Secretary Morgenthau was unconsciously "used" by Communist agents to push a policy of devastation of Germany during the war. Report, p. 30. The

same report also refers to the testimony of Adolf Berle, Jr., former Assistant Secretary of State, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948. Berle testified that in 1944 Acheson's group in the State Department, "with Mr. Hiss as his principal assistant in the matter" followed "what we would call today the pro-Russian point of view." J. Anthony Panuch, former Deputy Assistant Secretary, testified that this situation also prevailed in 1945 and 1946 when he was in the Department. Report, p. 28. There is no attempt, however, to isolate any of the issues about which there was said to be a difference of opinion.

Again, Harold Glasser, who invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned before the Subcommittee in 1953, was one of those "with a predominant voice" in determining which countries should receive aid from UNRRA after the war. Glasser was financial expert of the American delegation in the formation of that Agency. Report, p. 7. There is no attempt, however, to show the extent to which this influence was used in the interest of the Soviet Union.

As we have pointed out before, the Record is not a complete source of information on any subject, and for a complete account of criminal activity and success in any field, other additional sources should be used. As an example, we might point to the statement of Mr. George Kennan in the May, 1953 Atlantic:

"I have been fairly close to the policy-making processes in Washington for the past six years. With many of the decisions I have been personally in accord; with others, not. But I cannot recall a single major decision of foreign policy during that period which communist influence could have had any appreciable part in determining. If, therefore, I were to be asked what part communist penetration had played in creating our difficulties and perplexities of today in the field of foreign affairs, I would have to say that -- as far as these past years are concerned -- that part has been negligible, and I am sure it is negligible today."

G. Does the Communist Party advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

The conviction of eleven members of the National Board of the Communist Party in the Dennis case for conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the Government, as well as later convictions of other communist leaders, seems to require the answer to this question in the affirmative. The opinion of the Subversive Activities Control Board in Brownell v. The Communist Party reaches the same conclusion. P. 79.

This has not always been universally accepted as demonstrated. In 1943, in the Schneiderman denaturalization case, the Court was of a somewhat different opinion.

There Justice Murphy, after reviewing the Communist writings which were in evidence, said:

"A tenable conclusion . . . is that the Party in 1927 desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means, and as a theoretical matter justified the use of force and violence only as a method of preventing an attempted forcible counter-overthrow once the Party had obtained control in a peaceful manner, or as a method of last resort to enforce the majority will if at some indefinite future time because of peculiar circumstances constitutional or peaceful channels were no longer open." Schneiderman v. United States, 320 U.S. 118, 157 (1943) (5-3 decision).

Although the record in the Dennis case is many times longer than the record in the Schneiderman case, both records are fairly comprehensive in picturing the use which the Communist Party makes of Marxist writings. In both cases the Government made prominent use of Stalin's declaration, in 1924, that Marx' prediction of the possibility for peaceful development of socialism in England and the United States no longer holds good. In fact the Court in the Schneiderman case noted this quotation in its opinion. Schneiderman v. United States, 320 U.S. 118, 151 n. 38 (1943); Dennis Record, p. 5116 (Foundations of Leninism).

Stalin goes on to say:

"In other words, the law of violent proletarian revolution, the law of the smashing of the bourgeois state machine as a preliminary condition for such a revolution, is an inevitable law of the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries of the world." Foundations of Leninism, quoted in Dennis Record, p. 5116.

The possibility that a revolution will be led by American Communists is far less realistic than the possibility they might cause trouble in the event of war with Russia. In the Dennis case the Government showed the prominence given in Communist schools and training programs to the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), and its praise of the tactic of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution of turning "imperialist war" into civil war. Record, p. 5573-5575.

Although evidence in the Dennis case on this key issue of the Communist Party's position on violence fills thousands of pages, and conflicts in many details, one salient fact stands out: Communist writing quoted in the record through page after page predicts that socialism, whose coming Communists regard as inevitable, cannot be achieved peacefully. This is because capitalists will not give up without a struggle.



If the only issue turns on who will strike the first blow, the question as to whether Communists teach and advocate force or violence is in little doubt. This idea is expressed with great clarity by Justice Jackson in his concurring opinion in American Communications Ass'n v. Douds, 339 U.S. 382, 425-426 (1950):

"Goals so extreme and offensive to American tradition and aspiration obviously could not be attained or approached through order or with tranquility. If, by their better organization and discipline, they were successful, more candid Communists admit that it would be to an accompaniment of violence, but at the same time they disclaim responsibility by blaming the violence upon those who engage in resistance or reprisal. It matters little by whom the first blow would be struck; no one can doubt that an era of violence and oppression, confiscations and liquidations would be concurrent with a regime of communism.

Such goals set up a cleavage among us too fundamental to be composed by democratic processes. Our constitutional scheme of elections will not settle issues between large groups when the price of losing is to suffer extinction. When dissensions cut too deeply, men will fight, even hopelessly, before they will submit. . . ."

H. Is the reason for resentment against the Communist Party the use of ordinarily legitimate means for an illegitimate end?

This is a speculative question which requires more than factual data for an answer. If the analysis by Justice Jackson, just quoted, is correct, the ultimate end sought by the Communist Party is properly the most significant factor in shaping the response of the American people and their Government to the phenomenon of domestic Communist Party activity. Two closely related aspects of the Communists' ultimate goal are important. One is the establishment of a society within the United States which Americans believe is repugnant to their way of life. The other, which is more of an immediate problem, is the endeavor of a foreign government which is hostile to the United States to achieve success on a world wide scale.

Yet the means which the Party employs are important. They are the easiest to reach by legislation, because the Constitution provides an orderly means of governmental change -- even change in the Constitution itself. This not only renders extra-constitutional change unnecessary; it eliminates popular sympathy for the advocacy of extra-constitutional change.

Furthermore, a thoughtful reading of the record in the Dennis case, particularly the testimony of the defendants, gives rise to a conviction that the means

selected by communist leaders are likely to be chosen without regard to their legality or any other consideration except their effectiveness in reaching the Communists' ultimate goal. The basic fact is that convinced American Communists are deeply hostile to the government under which they live.

I. Is political activity, otherwise legitimate, rendered illegitimate because it is in the interest of a foreign nation hostile to the United States?

This question concerns matter outside the present inquiry. It concerns countermeasures, rather than our investigation -- what is communism all about? It can be noted, however, that there is a large distinction between activity "in the interest of a foreign nation" which is more or less spontaneous, and activity "controlled by a foreign nation." This suggests a line drawn by the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

J. What are the reasons for the popular resentment against the Communist Party?

Obviously accurate measurement of the collective opinion of the United States is impossible. We can only list factors that could be expected to give rise to resentment.

1. Already mentioned has been the nature of the Communist Party's ultimate goal -- establishment of Russian controlled dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States. The fact that the Russian Government has come into the postwar world with greatly augmented power, is alone sufficient to account for greatly increased concern about what American Communists are up to. The most serious incidents which cause this concern relate to espionage activities by Communist Party members.

2. The Party's proclivity for secrecy in its operations -- regardless of the merits of the claim that this is designed to avoid persecution -- is a factor in the hostility. That which is undisclosed always arouses more anxiety than activity which is in complete public view. Secrecy prevails not only in much of the activity of the Communist Party itself, but in communist manipulation of other organizations where Communists often do not disclose their Party affiliations.

3. The general unreliability of Communists as allies is an important factor in hostility against them. Part of the unreliability is caused by the fact that with a shift in the Party line, the Communist Party will desert overnight a previously supported cause. Furthermore, there is often reason to believe that the immediate goals Communists profess are at odds with the goals for which they actually strive. Equality in race relations

they have emphasized from the first, but there is reason to suspect that Communists feel that a lynching may better serve the Communist cause than any basic improvement in race relations. The program of self-determination for the so-called Black Belt makes no sense on any other basis. The Communist led International Labor Defense operated on the apparent assumption that it is better to demonstrate how bad capitalist justice is than to get defendants out of jail. If a Communist led strike is broken, or ends in violence, the Communist purpose is served better than if improved working conditions make happy capitalists out of the "proletariat."

4. The vituperative character of Communist Party rhetoric is not calculated to win friends and influence people. An honest and friendly difference in views is a possibility Communists do not consider. This essentially intolerant character of Communist thinking is repellant to many people. The attitude of the Party is typified by the provision in the Constitution of 1945:

"Personal or political relations with enemies of the working class and nation are incompatible with membership in the Communist Party."

"Enemies of the working class" is an elastic term capable of describing almost anyone except the faithful. In fact even Communists are not exempt from obloquy, since changes in tactic usually call for expulsions and those who leave the fold are the worst of all.

K. Does activity of the Communist Party in the United States provide clues to forecast future moves of the Soviet Union?

It is ordinarily assumed that the Communist Party follows in point of time policy changes by the Soviet Union. In the case of the most significant major policy change in recent years, however, the Party's shift may have preceded important public evidence of the shift by the Soviet Union. A reader of the Daily Worker would have discovered the article by Jacques Duclos, criticizing Browder's cooperative policies, reprinted on May 24, 1945. Dennis Record, p. 14557. (Government's Exhibit 12-A.) He would have read on June 4, 1945, a draft resolution adopted by the Communist Political Association's National Board, only Browder dissenting, which reflected the views expressed in the Duclos article, Dennis Record, p. 14581 (Government's Exhibit 13-A). These developments were well in advance of the Potsdam meeting of the "big three" which took place in July, 1945.

A full exploration of this line of inquiry would require a comparison of American Communist publications with Izvestia and Pravda. Such a comparison, over a period of time would not only be enlightening to show how much parallelism of action there is between the Soviet and the domestic Communist policies, but it would show whether the American Party is ever used as a bell-wether in policy changes.

ANNEX C  
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PROJECT

In this Annex is discussed the condition, as of September 16, 1953, of the bibliographical project, the scope of the bibliography and what remains to be done. We have also commented very briefly on the content of the bibliography and have included a reading list containing some of the more significant works which have been examined. Appended will be found an outline for the topical organization of the bibliography.

A. The condition of the bibliography at this date.

A product of ten weeks of research at the Harvard University libraries, the bibliography consists of approximately 6,000 references to relevant material. Approximately 1,050 of the citations are to books and pamphlets, 200 are to public documents of administrative and legislative groups, and 4,750 are to periodical literature. Each citation is listed on a 3x5" card. These are arranged in files alphabetically by author or agency in the case of books, pamphlets and public documents. The references to periodical literature are temporarily arranged alphabetically by publication for our convenience while examining this material. Ultimately they will be arranged alphabetically by title as

is customary with periodical literature. A card which has been completely processed contains in addition to bibliographical material a brief description of the character of the reference. This may be very brief<sup>1</sup> where the titles and author are self-explanatory. In other cases, the description is quite comprehensive. On each completed card a number appears indicating where it should be arranged in a topical file based on the outline appearing in the Appendix.<sup>2</sup> A typical card looks like this:

II-C-1-d

Browder, Earl.

The People's Front

New York. International Publishers. 1938

Collection of reports, speeches and articles, written in 1936 and 1937 by the then Executive Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Explains communist policy at the time of the Party's greatest popularity.

Of the material listed on our cards approximately one half of the books and pamphlets have been read, about 90 per cent of the public documents and 10 per cent of the periodical articles have been examined.

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1. E.g., Budenz, Louis F. Red Baiting: Enemy of Labor. New York. Workers Library Publishers. 1937.

2. E.g., every reference to C.P. work among Negroes contains the number, II-E-3: See Appendix p. 148, infra.



B. Topics included and excluded

Because of time limitations and the great bulk of material, this bibliography is concerned only with the most direct references to communism in the United States after 1919. Material relating to the antecedents of the Communist Party (Topic I in the outline) is not included. Neither is material relating to Topic III, Marxist theory and international communism. In our opinion, the bibliography in this truncated condition gives a severely distorted picture. If it is determined that a collection such as this has substantial utility, we suggest that these topics be the subject of bibliographical research as soon as is convenient.

C. What remains to be done

1. Examining and classifying the present references. This work should be continued. The number of references will probably shrink as inappropriate material is culled out.

2. Organizing a topical file. As cards are completed, duplicates should be made. The duplicates should be filed under the topics indicated in the Appendix. The original file should be retained in alphabetical form. This arrangement is necessary in order to provide a source for a quick check on whether the bibliography contains a given item and also to have

a useful, topically organized file. The collection, in our opinion, should be retained on cards rather than typed in a list. A list freezes the bibliography so that new material cannot conveniently be added. Card systems are, of course, standard in libraries.

D. A brief comment on content

It is possible at this time to make a brief comment on the content of the bibliography and its potential usefulness. While the mass of references is large, the quality is extremely disappointing. A comprehensive and unbiased work on the history and objectives of the Communist Party, U.S.A. does not exist. One of the most disturbing lacunae in scholarly writing is that of Communist activities among American labor groups. No comprehensive book on this subject is available, and we suggest that such a book is worth serious attention. On the other hand, there are two excellent books, those of Father Nolan and of Wilson Record, both on Communist activities among American Negroes. While our study has been useful insofar as it has produced information about what literature exists, we question the value of many of our references. Many are polemics from the Right, visualizing schools, unions and government a-crawl with Reds. Many are the dull products of the Communist-line gramophone. Many are pamphlets written

by extremists of either view for mass distribution. Undocumented, they constitute the writer's personal notion of current events; they are interesting historical specimens, but are of little scholarly value. Of the periodical literature, for every article which appears to be written in an honest effort to examine real issues there are a half-dozen written by partisans of either extreme which obscure them.

E. A brief, descriptive reading list on the Communist Party of the United States

Books

Browder, Earl. Communism in the United States. New York. International Publishers. 1935. 352 pp.

A collection of material written by the then General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which explains the communist position in 1935. Along with pleas for the "united front," traces are to be found of the militancy which characterized the Party attitude until the Comintern changed "line" in 1935. This is a very comprehensive exposition of communist objectives, but the book suffers from the colorless monotony characteristic of propaganda. H. J. Laski was prompted to remark of its author: "He suffers from that disease of orthodoxy which makes ten enemies for every friend it acquires."<sup>1</sup>

Chambers, Whittaker. Witness. New York. Random House. 1952. 808 pp.

The usefulness of this book depends upon the degree to which the reader believes the controversial author is able and disposed to observe and relate actual facts and events. Chambers was a member of the Communist Party from 1925 to 1938. The first part of this period was spent editing the Daily Worker and the New Masses. The latter part was spent as an underground agent. It was during this period that Chambers was in contact with a communist cell in Washington, D.C., and those events transpired which led to the conviction of Alger Hiss for perjury. The book can be useful in at least two ways. First, it shows how and why one man became a Communist. An extremely unhappy youth, which is described in detail, may have had much to do with the author's requirement of a monolithic ideology either of the left or right. Secondly, a larger part of the book is devoted to a description of Communist Party.

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1. London Times Literary Supplement, November 9, 1935.

activities while Chambers was a member. The approach throughout is emotional, the style disconnected. Yet insight into the man and the Party may be gained from a thoughtful reading.

Crossman, Richard (ed.), The God That Failed. New York. Harper and Bros. 1949. 273 pp.

A collection of essays by three ex-Communists and three former fellow travelers, who recount the fascination Communism held for them and their later disillusionment. Americans Richard Wright and Louis Fischer join Arthur Koestler, Ignazio Silone, Andre Gide and Stephen Spender in contributing to the book. Wright, a Negro, tells how he joined the Party in Chicago and served until he realized the Communists were merely using the Negroes for their own purposes. Fischer, a newspaper correspondent in Europe and Asia, is a one-time champion of Soviet Russia and Communism. Koestler's account of his association with the German Communist Party is eloquent and revealing. There is a thoughtful introduction by Richard Crossman, English writer and politician.

Ernst, Morris and David Loth. Report on the American Communist. New York. Henry Holt and Co. 1952. 240 pp.

The question: why do Americans become Communists and why do they leave the Party? This is very near the core of the general problem of evaluating and dealing with communism in the United States. This book may be described as the first tentative step toward properly answering the question. It is based on about 300 interviews with ex-Communists, who were asked why they joined and why they left the Party. Considerable personal data was also obtained. From this the authors drew rather broad conclusions, the key one being that party membership is founded not on a political or economic base but on the psychological characteristics of the individual. The reader is left with a desire to know more about the sample and the questionnaire so that the authors' conclusions can be weighed against the evidence.

Foster, William Z. History of the Communist Party of the United States. New York. International Publishers. 1952. 600 pp.

This is the definitive communist work on the Party, written by its general chairman, a veteran at

following the sinuous "party line." The book is like a trick mirror at a county fair; the image shown the reader is a Marxist distortion of the actual subject. There is a clear attempt to obscure the early militancy of the Party<sup>2</sup> and an attempt to tie in the Party's objectives with American traditions. There is extensive treatment of Marxist associations -- real and claimed -- with the American labor movement before 1919. The book is important in its presentation of the "correct" communist attitude toward a long series of American historical events. By comparing actual events with the astigmatic Marxist vision of them, something can be learned of the communist mind.

Gitlow, Benjamin. I Confess. The Truth about American Communism. New York. E. P. Dutton. 1940. 611 pp.

Gitlow was an American Communist from 1919 to 1929, became a celebrated Party martyr in the early twenties by being jailed for his activities, and later stood high in the eyes of the Comintern. In 1929, in Moscow, Gitlow, along with Jay Lovestone, defied Stalin by refusing to repudiate policies followed by the American Party, and both were expelled. Gitlow remained a Marxist without a party, but began an evolution away from Marxism and toward acceptance of democratic principles which was complete when he wrote this book. Despite its sensational title, this is an intelligent and extremely useful statement of Communist aims and methods. The book is largely free from the quasi-religious fervor which appears in the writings of some anti-Communists. Two salient points appear: (1) The close connection between the C.P.U.S.A. and Moscow, and (2) the prevalence of factional disturbance within the American Party, which has prompted one observer<sup>3</sup> to remark that the Communists could have little time to overthrow the Republic so long as they engaged in personal and doctrinal struggles of the intensity indicated by Gitlow.

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2. Cf. Foster's own Toward a Soviet America (New York. Coward-McCann. 1932).

3. Robert L. Duffus, writing in the New York Times Book Review, January 14, 1940.

Isaacs, William. Contemporary Marxian Political Movements in the United States, 1917-1939 (Abridgment). New York. New York University. 1942. 49 pp.

This is an abridgment of a Ph.D. dissertation containing chapters on the principles, strategy and tactics of the Communist Party, which is notable for objectivity. It is based on official documents covering the militant period (1928-1935) and the united front period (1935-1939). The dramatic shift in communist policies resulting from the Seventh World Congress is sharply delineated. The author points out that he has "no thesis in the accepted sense of the term" and he has succeeded in presenting the communist position in a factual way. A basic work of great value.

Nolan, William A. Communism Versus the Negro. Chicago. Henry Regnery. 1951. 276 pp.

Described as "a case study of one area of communist propaganda in the United States," this book is objectively written and amply documented. The author concludes that communist propaganda has been "a miserable failure with most Negroes" because the Party has never adapted itself to American problems. Its activities are "subordinated to the aggressive ambition of a foreign power." The book combines the best attributes of a popular style with scholarly documentation. It produces little new evidence, but marshals that available with remarkable clarity.

Oneal, James and G. A. Werner. American Communism. New York. E. P. Dutton. 1947. 416 pp.

Oneal, a veteran right-wing socialist, originally published the first 13 chapters under the same title in 1927. Werner, professor of Russian history at the College of the Pacific, revised the earlier chapters slightly and added nine chapters of his own in 1947. The purpose of the book is to provide a comprehensive discussion of the history, objectives and methods of communism in the United States. While the book is the only one of its kind written with objectivity, it falls somewhat short of the mark -- either as a source for scholars or as information for the general public. Oneal's portion is ponderous, sober and heavily documented. Werner's addition is chattier and less amply documented and is suitable for popular use but hardly as a base for scholarly inquiry.

Peters, J. The Communist Party. A Manual on Organization. New York. Workers Library Publishers. 1935. 124 pp.

The basic organizational manner of the C.P.U.S.A. at the beginning of the united front phase. The chapters are entitled "Fundamentals of the Party Program," "Basic Principles of Party Organization," "Structure and Functions of Party Organizations," "Party Membership and Cadres," and "Rules and Methods for Disciplinary Cases." There is extensive treatment of every aspect of Party work, including a discussion of what to do about the stool pigeon. The manual gives an extremely useful picture of communist organization when the Party was on the brink of its greatest success, 1935-1939.

Philbrick, Herbert A. I Led Three Lives: Citizen -- "Communist" -- Counterspy. New York. McGraw-Hill. 1952. 323 pp.

This is one of the most valuable books written on the C.P.U.S. It is a description of communist activities in eastern Massachusetts, written by a participant. Philbrick, a Boston advertising man, infiltrated the Young Communist League and Communist Party for the FBI and observed and reported on communist activities for nine years. He was a leading prosecution witness at the trial of the eleven communist leaders and has testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.<sup>4</sup> The book is written in an informative and matter-of-fact style. Philbrick found the Party secretly preached revolution while denying its adherence to this objective in its publications. He feels that the real danger from communism is not from its overt activities or leaders but from "invisible" communists and their innocent aides.

Record, Wilson. The Negro and the Communist Party. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1951. 340 pp.

Like William A. Nolan's book, this provides a comprehensive and exhaustively documented account

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4. Philbrick's testimony was the basis of a Committee Hearing, Expose of Communist Activities in the State of Massachusetts, 82d Cong., 1st Sess. (1951).



of communist activities among Negroes. It also provides a concise history of the C.P.U.S.A. Like Nolan, Record believes the communist agitation among Negroes failed because communist attitudes depended on current Soviet foreign policy rather than Negro needs. Record, a native Texan, is a professor at San Francisco State College.

Selznick, Philip. The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics. New York. McGraw-Hill. 1952. 350 pp.

Professor Selznick, of the Department of Sociology of the University of California at Los Angeles, examines the role of the Communist Party as a "weapon." He has examined writings of Communists, studied the records of legislative hearings and investigations and examined other governmental material on security. He concludes that the communist role is not to convert the masses or foment revolution, in the orthodox meaning of the term, but to gain control of strategic units of society, such as labor unions, veterans organizations, youth clubs, and the like. Because of this, the danger from communism is not to be measured by the number of its followers but by the size, skill and militancy of the "combat party" at the core of the organization. This is an exhaustive and scholarly work.

Sutton, Francis X. The Radical Marxist. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation for the Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, January, 1950. 442 pp. (typed)<sup>5</sup>

Sutton approaches from a sociologist's point of view the same problem attacked by Morris Ernst and David Loth: who becomes a Communist and why? Sutton seeks to define the social and personal conditions necessary to dispose an individual toward Marxism. He deals almost exclusively with Marxism in the United States. Sutton finds that a disposition toward Marxism occurs where there is personal insecurity and social

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5. This thesis is available only in the Archive Room at Harvard University Library.

"malintegration" and shows how the Communists capitalize on this situation. Radical ideologies grow in times of social crisis, real or imagined. The thesis is a genuine contribution to the solution of one of the heart-problems of modern communism.

#### Pamphlets

Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Committee on Socialism and Communism. Communist Infiltration in the United States. Its Nature and How to Combat it. Washington. 1946. 40 pp.

Simply written, this pamphlet is designed for general circulation. There are section on communism as a philosophy and as a political force, why people become Communists, communism in specific groups, and how to fight communism.

Communist Party of America. Manifesto and Program. Chicago. Communist Party. 1919.

This is the program of the Party which was organized September 1, 1919, and a report of Louis C. Fraina to the Communist International seeking admission of the American Party to membership in the International. Militancy is stressed.

Communist Party of the United States of America. Resolutions of the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party. New York. Workers Library Publishers. 1936. 64 pp.

The Seventh World Congress of the Comintern adopted the policy of the united front against fascism. Revolutionary militancy was discarded in favor of milder attitudes seeking a coalition of the Left. This pamphlet shows the slavish adoption of the new policy by the American Party, which declares the Comintern's position to be "correct." The Party announces a goal of 100,000 members, hoped for as a result of the new policy.

Communist Party of the United States of America. Struggles Ahead! Thesis on the Economic and Political Situation and the Tasks of the Communist Party. n.p. 1930.

This thesis, adopted by the Seventh National Convention, 1930, reflects the revolutionary militancy

of the Party during the period 1928-1935, before the united front. The depression calls for a "speeding up of Bolshevization process . . . a rapid transformation of the street nuclei into a shop nuclei basis, the development and broadening of leading cadres, the building and leading of militant mass industrial unions."

Communist Political Association. The Present Situation and the Next Tasks. New York. Political Affairs. July, 1945.

Draft resolution of the National Board of the Association which was approved by the National Committee. Following the defeat of Germany but before Japan surrendered, the Party continued to favor close cooperation between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., but there is a tendency in this resolution to talk more aggressively about needed reforms than was customary before Germany's defeat. The pamphlet includes speeches on the resolution by Party leaders.

Kamp, Joseph P. The Fifth Column in Washington. Un-Americans on the Government Pay Roll. New Haven. Constitutional Educational League, Inc. 1940.

The Fifth Column is not that of the Nazis, as might be expected with World War II already in progress, but that of the Communists. This vigorous anti-communist reports the roster of the employees of the United States Government is laden with Communists and communist sympathizers, who are waiting to seize power when the time is ripe.

Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. What About Communism? New York. Public Affairs Committee, Inc. 1950. 32 pp.

A popularly written, matter-of-fact attempt to explain the phenomenon of communism, starting with Marx and Hegel. Nine pages are devoted to the history and objectives of the C.P.U.S.A. A section on "Communism and free society" completes the pamphlet.

Sheen, Fulton J. The Tactics of Communism. New York. Paulist Press. n.d. (1936?). 24 pp.

In question and answer form, with brief quotations from communist sources, this pamphlet is very

simply written. It indicates one level at which ideological warfare was waged in the Thirties. Left and Right struggled for the mass mind with brief, cheap and widely-circulated publications such as this.

Thompson, Dorothy. The Truth About Communism. Washington, D.C. Public Affairs Press. 1948. 16 pp.

A brief appraisal of communist aims with quotations from pertinent documents, this is a vigorous but calm anti-communist statement.

#### Public Documents

California. Legislature. Senate. Fact-finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California. Reports (1943-1951).

This committee became well known under the chairmanship of Senator Jack B. Tenney, 1941-1949. Five reports of the committee were published during Tenney's chairmanship (1943, 1945, 1947, 1948 and 1949) and one since then (1951). Senator Tenney wrote the first three reports and most of the fourth. Pages 23-89 of the fourth report and the fifth report were written by Edward H. Gibbons, publisher of "Alert," a weekly anti-communist news-sheet. The purpose of the reports is to present a comprehensive picture of communist activities within the state. Treatment is given communist fronts, the philosophy of communism, communist influences in schools and youth groups, and the impact on other special appeal groups. The committee is generous in its inclusion of individuals and organizations in the communist conspiracy, and it has been the subject of much criticism. However, the reports exist, and the cautious reader, careful to separate wheat from chaff, may derive benefit from examining them.

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6. A critical appraisal of the committee, along with a commentary on committee publications, has been written by Edward L. Barrett, professor of law at the University of California, The Tenney Committee (Ithaca. Cornell University Press. 1951). Senator Tenney has written a book called Red Fascism: Boring from within by the Subversive Forces of Communism (Los Angeles. Federal Printing. 1947).

Massachusetts. Special Commission to Investigate the Activities within this Commonwealth of Communistic, Fascist, Nazi and Other Subversive Organizations, so called. Report. Boston. Wright and Potter Printing Co. 1938.

The great bulk of this 599-page document is devoted to Communism. Hearings and executive meetings were held from September 30, 1937, to May, 1938. The commission found that much less danger existed from subversive activities from the Right than from the Left. The structure and objectives of the Communist Party in Massachusetts are dealt with at some length, with considerable documentation. The commission concluded: "Communism is a present menace in this country. Its influence is spreading rapidly in this state." Proposed legislation is appended.

New York (State). Legislature. Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate the Public Educational System. Interim Report and Conclusions of the New York City Subcommittee Relative to Subversive Activity Among Students in the Public High Schools and Colleges of the City of New York. Albany. 1941. 132 pp.

The subcommittee, headed by Frederic R. Coudert, investigated the activities of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and other front organizations among New York students. The subcommittee concluded that "not over" three per cent of the students at City College and Brooklyn College, the schools where communism was most active, were involved in direct communist activities, but a higher percentage was engaged in "peripheral" communist activities. There is a rather complete treatment of the objectives and organization of the communist youth movement and its impact upon the youth in one community. There is generous quotation from hearings.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Un-American Activities.<sup>7</sup> 80th Cong., 1st Sess. The Communist Party of the United States as an Agent of a Foreign Power. H.R. No. 209, April 1, 1947. Washington. Government Printing Office. 1947. 56 pp.

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7. The most comprehensive evaluation of the committee is to be found in Robert K. Carr's book, The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1945-1950 (Ithaca. Cornell University Press. 1952).

The committee reports its "unanimous opinion" that the C.P.U.S.A. is an "agent of a foreign government." Documentary sources are interspersed with committee discussion of the origin and theory of communism, the development of the C.P.U.S.A. and the international communist movement and its control by the Soviet Union. There is a list of "typical directives from Moscow affecting the communist movement in the United States." Excerpts from the testimony of Louis F. Budenz are appended as "corroborative testimony."

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Un-American Activities. 81st Cong., 2d Sess. Expose of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania (Based Upon Testimony of Matthew Cvetic). Washington. Government Printing Office. 1950. 583 pp. (three parts); indexed.

The committee, headed by Representative John S. Wood, heard testimony by Cvetic in the spring of 1950. Cvetic became a member of the C.P.U.S.A. in 1943 to furnish the FBI with reports on Party activities. While the style of questions and answers is necessarily rambling, the activities of Communists and communist-controlled organizations are dealt with in some detail. The hearings include a very extensive documentary appendix of material collected by Cvetic, such as propaganda, broadsides and Party correspondence. The importance of these hearings is that they show how the Party operates at the point of impact of its activities, the local community.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Un-American Activities. 82d Cong., 1st Sess. Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications (with Supplement, May 14, 1951). Washington. Government Printing Office. 1951.

A compilation of organizations and publications declared to be communist or communist fronts by official government agencies. The agencies include the Attorney General, House investigating committees and investigating committees of California, Massachusetts, New York, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. The organizations are listed alphabetically, and each listing is followed by the names of the agencies which have declared it subversive, with a citation to the source of the agency pronouncement, and occasionally a brief

quotation from the source. The meaning of the appearance of an organization on the list depends upon the number and character of the agencies which have indicated it is subversive. If used with appropriate caution, the volume is useful to show the vast number of peripheral organizations the C.P.U.S.A. grafted on the central organization as part of Party tactics.<sup>8</sup>

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Un-American Activities. 81st Cong., 1st Sess. Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups. Washington. Government Printing Office. 1949.

The committee heard nine witnesses in July, 1949, describe communist activities with respect to Jewish and Negro minority groups. The Hearings chiefly relate to Negroes, and the second part consists entirely of the testimony of Manning Johnson, a member of the Party and active among Negroes from 1930 to 1940. Two parts; documentary appendix.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Un-American Activities. 83d Cong., 1st Sess. Organized Communism in the United States. Washington. Government Printing Office. 1953.

The 150-page document prepared by the Committee headed by Harold Velde is a concise statement of the history of the development of the C.P.U.S.A. A maximum of documentary evidence and a minimum of editorializing make this an extremely useful handbook. There is ample quotation from basic C.P. documents.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Un-American Activities. 80th Cong., 2d Sess. Report on the Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence. H.R. No. 1920, May 11, 1948. Washington. Government Printing Office. 1948. 160 pp.

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8. Herbert A. Philbrick in I Led Three Lives, op. cit. supra, gives a detailed account of the Communist use of these peripheral organizations.

The Committee, headed by Representative J. Parnell Thomas, finds "the American Party is now and always has been under the direction of an international communist organization dominated by the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." Following an explanatory introduction appear a section setting for the Party's reliance on doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, a series of excerpts from the writings of those four leaders advocating force and violence, a history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Communist International based on documents, a long discussion of the C.P.U.S.A. with excerpts from documents and writings of Party leaders, a section showing the resort to violence by Communist Parties of other countries, a discussion of legal cases relating to the "overthrow" problem, a brief section on legal action taken against the C.P.U.S.A. by government agencies, and the text of the Smith Act.

U.S. Congress. House. Special Committee on Un-American Activities.<sup>9</sup> 76th Cong., 1st Sess. Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States. Hearings: Appendix, Part I. A Compilation of Original Sources Used as Exhibits to Show the Nature and Aims of the Communist Party, Its Connections with the U.S.S.R., and Its Advocacy of Force and Violence. Washington. Government Printing Office. 1940.

A 967-page collection of documents on the C.P.U.S.A., with index, prepared by the Committee headed by Representative Martin Dies. Contains 231 "exhibits" ranging from the Communist Manifesto to quotations from the Daily Worker. Documents relating to the Third International, the objectives of the C.P.U.S.A., excerpts from the testimony of communist leaders before investigative committees, and excerpts from communist propaganda appear. There is a tendency to emphasize material relating to the 1928-1935 period of militancy rather than the more moderate line of the later 'Thirties, although by 1940

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9. Brother August R. Ogden, F.S.C., has written a highly critical book about the Committee, The Dies Committee (Washington, D.C. Catholic University of America Press. 1943).



the Party had passed into -- and out of -- the united front phase. The material remains useful if the reader remembers it represents only a selected sample of potential sources.

U.S. Congress. Senate. 68th Cong., 1st Sess. Attempt by Communists to Seize the American Labor Movement. S. Doc. No. 14. Washington. Government Printing Office. 1924.

A series of six articles prepared by the United Mine Workers and presented by Senator Lodge as a Senate Document. "Imported revolution is knocking at the door of the United Mine Workers of America and of the American People." The U.M.W. disclosed that Communists were trying to seize it as part of their program to destroy the United States Government. While somewhat hysterical, the document shows that infiltration of labor unions has been a standard communist tactic from the earliest days of the Party.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. 82d Cong., 1st Sess. Communist Domination of Certain Unions: Report. S. Doc. 89, October 19, 1951. Washington. Government Printing Office. 1951. 133 pp.

Here printed are the reports of the trial committee appointed by the C.I.O. to hear and decide charges of communist domination against nine of its affiliates. The unions involved are the United Office and Professional Workers of America; Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America; National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; American Communications Association; United Furniture Workers of America; International Fur and Leather Workers Union; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and the United Public Workers of America. The communist tactic of union infiltration is graphically revealed.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. 65th Cong., 3d Sess. Bolshevik Propaganda: Hearings. Washington. Government Printing Office. 1919.

These hearings began as an investigation of pro-German activities of German brewers, but the scope was extended by Senate resolution to include Russian propaganda efforts in the United States. A subcommittee headed by Senator Lee S. Overman

heard 27 witnesses give testimony partly about the Russian Revolution and partly about Marxist efforts in this country. There is a long appendix of "Bolshevik" propaganda, some of it from the I.W.W. The reader gets a picture of the disordered beginnings of American communism as told in an atmosphere of intense fear, coupled with a lack of understanding of what was happening in Russia.

U.S. Subversive Activities Control Board. . Herbert Brownell, Jr. v. Communist Party of the United States. Report of the Board. S. Doc. 41, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. Government Printing Office. 1953.

This is a comprehensive description of the C.P.U.S.A., its policies, objectives, and methods. It is the opinion and findings on the basis of which the Subversive Activities Control Board has ordered the C.P.U.S.A. to register in accordance with the Subversive Activities Control (McCarran) Act of 1950 as a communist-action organization. It contains a comprehensive description of activities of the C.P.U.S.A. and its control by Soviet Russia.

#### Periodical Literature

American Labor and the Threat of Communism. Murray, Philip. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 274 : 125 March 1951.

The story of communist influence in the C.I.O. from its point of principal significance in the 1930's, when the Communists joined the fight for industrial unionism, to its decline in 1950 following the expulsion of the eleven Communist dominated unions. Even in these unions, the author reports, little effort was expended on and little success achieved in converting the general membership to communism. Instead these unions were used to promote Party propaganda, as a recruiting ground from which selected agitators were chosen, and as a fund-raising mechanism. Murray sees a danger of communism reappearing in labor unions only if the United States should revert to extreme reaction. A balanced, though generalized, analysis written by a man intimately connected with the problem for thirty years.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A.; an Analysis of a Social Movement. Moore, Barrington, Jr. American Political Science Review, 39 : 41, February 1945.

A well documented survey of the Communist Party in 1945 when its non-revolutionary doctrines were in sharp contrast to those of the still revolutionary Trotskyites and other Marxist splinter parties. The Party is described as the unofficial propaganda agency for the Soviet Union, but without adequate direct contact with Russian communist policies. Efforts by Party leaders to explain it as a genuine American party are discounted. Special attention is given communist influence in the C.I.O., with ethnic minorities and with American intellectuals. The author predicted a reversion to revolutionary tactics and Party expansion only if the U.S. should adopt an economically reactionary administration hostile to Russia.

Communist Party of the United States; Thirtieth Anniversary. Political Affairs, 28 : entire issue. September 1949.

A representative issue of the Communist Party's theoretical magazine, containing articles by Alexander Bittelman, William Z. Foster, Gus Hall, William Weinstone and David Carpenter on a variety of doctrinal subjects. There is also an article containing excerpts from the court testimony of five of the eleven communist defendants in the Dennis case, then pending.

The Foreign Policy of the American Communist Party. Barnes, Joseph. Foreign Affairs, 26 : 421, April 1948.

A thoughtful analysis of the American Communist Party's foreign policy in the early postwar years. As expressed by William Z. Foster, this is a primarily negative policy, refusing to accept compromise with so-called imperialism. Mr. Barnes finds that the Communist Party's policies should only find an audience in this country in the event of a major depression.

From Lenin to Dennis. Bendiner, Robert. Nation 168 : 405, April 9, 1949.

A description of the dilemma faced by the Communists in the Dennis case; whether to stand by the

revolutionary theses of Marx and Lenin, or to espouse moderate reformism, traditionally despised by Communists in other parties of the left. Whether Dennis' profession of the latter view is a true departure from classic revolutionary dogma or is merely "Aesopian language" appropriate to the occasion is the question presented by the author.

I Posed as a Communist for the F.B.I. Cvetic, Matt (as told to Pete Martin). Saturday Evening Post 223 : 17, 34, 30, July 15-July 29, 1950.

A Pittsburgh Philbrick's adventures centered around Western Pennsylvania, containing a detailed description of how the Communist Party took over the American Slav Congress. Apart from this there is not much original factual data or analysis of Communist Party members. The author is best describing isolated episodes, many of which center around the effect on his personal life resulting from his ostensible membership in the Party. Since few writers have had this experience, this memoir, like Philbrick's, is well worth reading.

The Inside Story of our Soviet Underground. Levine, Isaac Don. Plain Talk, p. 9, 18, 21, 19, September-December 1948.

A personal experience narrative by the man to whom Whittaker Chambers first took his story in 1939, and who guided Chambers to Adolph Berle at that time. Most of the episodes center around Walter Krivitsky from 1939 to his murder, presumably by Soviet agents, in 1941. Most of the information was obtained by the author from these two ex-communists, and probably adds little to Chambers' first-hand revelations.

Labor and the Communists. Fisher, H. Current History (new series) 12 : 199, March 1947.

A survey of the divided opinion in labor unions on the recognition of Soviet Russia from 1917 to 1933, and the reasons for the various views. The A.F. of L. led the opposition to recognition and exerted great influence over other unions.

Portrait of an American Communist. McPartland, John. Life, 24 : 74, January 5, 1948.

Although devoid of documentation, the author paints a vivid picture in this article of a Communist Party prototype as of 1948, his background, training, beliefs, and hopes for the future. Corresponds with confessions made by actual ex-communists<sup>10</sup> but is written as fiction and is thereforeless convincing than these personal memoirs.

The Shadow of Communism in America (four articles).  
Reporter, 4 : 5, January 23, 1951.

Only one of these is pertinent to the present study -- "U.S. Communism: Its Underground Plans and its Secret Business Empire" by Claire Neikind. This appears to be an authoritative account of the Party's plan to "go underground" in 1947, its reasons for doing so and its basic objectives at that time. Robert William Weiner, the little-known financial manager of the Party, and his bourgeois business empire are described briefly. The other three articles, by Max Ascoli, Philip M. Stern and Melvin S. Wax, concern United States foreign policy, the political fate of McCarran Act opponents, and the infiltration of Vermont's White River Valley.

U.S. Communist Party. Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr.  
Life, 21 : 84, July 29, 1946.

A factual, dispassionate account of the Communist Party in 1946, with advice to both liberals and conservatives on how to combat the danger, and to recognize it. Names communist dominated unions and front organizations. Narrates shifts in Party tactics and explains the expulsion of Earl Browder from the Party. Points out the post-war drive to organize Negroes, which is well borne out by an examination of the Party's own literature after this time. An excellent article.<sup>11</sup>

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10. E.g., Bentley, Elizabeth. Out of Bondage. New York. Devin-Adair. 1951.

11. A revised version of this article appeared three years later. Life of the Party: What it Means to be a Communist. Saturday Review, 32 : 6, July 16, 1949. It also appears as a chapter in the author's book, The Vital Center. Boston. Houghton Mifflin. 1949.

William Foster and the Revolution. Gitlow, Benjamin.  
American Mercury, 68: 408, April 1949.

A character analysis of Foster outlining his background, his abilities and his ambitions. Much of the material deals with Foster's greatest dream -- the leadership of the American Communist Party -- and how it eluded him from 1923 to the time the article was written. This saga illuminates the ties between Moscow and the American leaders of the Party. A helpful profile; although perhaps minimizing Foster's abilities, it should make the reading of Foster's voluminous writings more enlightening.<sup>12</sup>

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12. The bibliographical material in this part of our Report was prepared by F. S. Brenneman and R. L. Brenneman, Jr., of the class of 1953, Harvard Law School, now of the District of Columbia Bar.

## APPENDIX TO ANNEX C

### Suggested Topical Organization for a Bibliography on the Communist Party in the United States

The formulation of this outline was governed by two considerations -- first, the categories into which the material we have examined seems naturally to fall, and second, the use to which the material is to be put. A work will appear under all the topics to which it is closely related, not merely the principal one. Hence, an important work of wide scope may appear in the topical organization several times.

#### I. The antecedents of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

- A. Nineteenth Century American radicalism.
- B. American Marxism, 1876-1919.

(Because of time limitations we have collected only material relating to the Party after 1919. However, the significance of the period before the Party's organization is very great since it obviously was the product of forces already at work in the United States prior to 1919. Bibliographical research on this subject is appropriate.)

## II. The Communist Party, U.S.A.

### A. General histories of the party.

(Under this topic should appear only those works which deal with Party history in general, such as William Z. Foster's<sup>1</sup> and Oneal and Werner's.<sup>2</sup> Material from both Communist and non-Communist sources should be included.)

### B. Organization of the Party.

(There are not too many works written on this specific subject, but many refer to it. J. Peter's manual<sup>3</sup> and Selznick's study<sup>4</sup> are most appropriate here. There is attention paid to Party organization in many books of a more general nature, such as Chambers'<sup>5</sup> and Philbrick's.<sup>6</sup>)

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1. Foster, William Z. History of the Communist Party of the United States. New York. International Publishers. 1952.

2. Oneal, James and G. A. Werner. American Communism. New York. E. P. Dutton. 1947.

3. Peters, J. The Communist Party. A Manual on Organization. New York. Workers Library Publishers. 1935.

4. Selznick, Philip. The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics. New York. McGraw-Hill 1952.

5. Chambers, Whittaker. Witness. New York. Random House 1952.

6. Philbrick; Herbert A. I Led Three Lives, Citizen -- "Communist" -- Counterspy. New York. McGraw-Hill. 1952.



C. Objectives and techniques of the Party.

1. Writings published by the Party or writings by avowed Party members.

("Writings" is intended to include works ranging from the most important Party documents <sup>7</sup> to the least significant propaganda leaflet. <sup>8</sup>)

(This material is categorized separately both because it is the most direct source of information on the Party and because Party literature can be suborganized historically, as indicated below, while non-communist material is not so readily organized historically. Material published by or for the Young Communist League is included as writings published by the Party because the Y.C.L. on its level of action is substantially identical with the Party. Publications of all other "fronts" are treated separately under "writings from other sources," below. The present category is intended to include only those statements which can be regarded as having been made by the Party.)

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7. Communist Party of America. Manifesto and Program. Chicago, 1949.

8. Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley. Women in the War. New York. Workers Library Publishers. 1942.

- a. General.
- b. Birth and consolidation, 1919-1928.
- c. The Party militant, 1928-August, 1935.
- d. The united front, August 1935 -  
September 1939.
- e. Nazi-Soviet Pact, September 1939 -  
June 1941
- f. World War II, June, 1941-1945.
- g. Postwar, 1945-1953.

(This historical organization of Party writings is founded on obvious shifts of Party policy. The 1919-1928 period was one of groping and development. The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern adopted a vigorous revolutionary Marxist and anti-democratic position, and the years from 1928-1935 were marked by extreme militancy on the part of the American Party. This policy included attacks on other leftist movements, which were characterized as "social fascist," as well as assaults on democracy and capitalism. The Seventh World Congress oriented the Party toward the "united front." The 1935-1939 period was one of relaxed revolutionary militancy and

cooperation with other anti-fascist  
elements.<sup>9</sup> The united front was shattered  
by the Nazi-Soviet Pact,<sup>10</sup> and the line  
shifted violently again when the Soviet  
Union was attacked.<sup>11</sup> The postwar period  
of growing friction between the Soviet  
Union and the United States produced yet  
another "orientation" for the Party.)

2. Writings from other sources.

a. General.

(The use of the word "other" indicates an attempt to avoid characterization of material which is not of palpably Communist origin. All non-Party and non-Y.C.L. writing which concerns the techniques and objectives of the Party will appear in this category.)

b. Legislative and administrative documents.

i. State.

ii. Federal.

iii. Commentary on documents.

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9. Browder, Earl. Unity for Peace and Democracy. New York. Workers Library Publishers. 1939.

10. Browder, Earl. America and the Second Imperialist War. New York. New York State Committee, Communist Party. 1939.

11. Weiss, Max. Destroy Hitlerism. New York. New Age Publishers. 1941.

(As far as commentary on the documents is concerned, we believe it would be inappropriate for a bibliography of this kind to include a great mass of material relating to the agencies fighting Communism. The purpose of this inquiry is not to evaluate or criticize in any way anti-Communist procedures. However, in several sources dealing with public agencies investigating communism, evaluations of the publications of the agencies have appeared. The present bibliographers feel that such material<sup>12</sup> should be included as an aid to the researcher who is interested in an evaluation of these public documents.)

D. Membership: who becomes a Communist and why?

1. General.

(Works such as Sutton's<sup>13</sup> should appear here.)

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12. E.g. Carr, Robert H. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1945-1950. Ithaca. Cornell University Press. 1952.

13. Sutton, Francis X. The Radical Marxist. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation for the Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, January, 1950.

2. Accounts by individual ex-communists.  
(The stories of Budenz,<sup>14</sup> Bentley,<sup>15</sup> etc.)

E. Communist activity with respect to specific groups and its consequences.

(This topic should include writing from both Communist and anti-Communist sources.)

1. Labor and farmers.
2. Youth.
3. Negroes.
4. Other special appeal groups.

F. Communist activity with respect to specific American Institutions.

1. Government.
2. Schools and colleges.
3. The Church.
4. Entertainment and the Arts.

G. Deviation from communism.

(One of the recurring phenomena of American communism is that of deviation from the Party line. Since the Party is not noticeably tolerant of dissent, the dissenter is ousted and begins to toss vitriol at the

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14. Budenz, Louis F. This is My Story. New York. Whittlesey House. 1947.  
15. Bentley, Elizabeth. Out of Bondage. New York. Devin-Adair. 1951.

Party, which replies in kind. The dissent may manifest itself in the "Right opportun-<sup>16</sup>ism" of Jay Lovestone, the "left deviation-<sup>17</sup>ism" of the followers of Leon Trotsky, or the "American exceptionalism" of Earl Browder. Their experience is an important<sup>18</sup> aspect of American communism. )

1. Statements by the Party and its leaders.
2. Statements by deviationists.
  - a. Trotskyites.
  - b. Lovestoneites.
  - c. Others.
3. General commentary.

H. Biographies of individual Communists.

### III. World Communism.

- A. The Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist theory.
- B. Organization and objectives of world communism.

(The present bibliographers have done nothing on this subject. Since the American Party has been at all times more or less closely related to the Party in the U.S.S.R., the bibliography must be regarded as seriously deficient until the work is done on this subject.)

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16. Exit, pursued by a bear, in 1929.

17. James P. Cannon is a leading American example.

18. In the often drear atmosphere of communist literature it is refreshing to come upon expressions such as "Anarcho-bourgeois microbe," which the Communists save for their former friends.

Add MacBundy to group -

Fisher - Hours Library - or Damit, Bell -

Philbrick

Write to Sam & Cas's visit